



Gianfranco Gorgoni

APRIL 17, 1943



WARSAW

**THE FINAL
DESTRUCTION
OF THE JEWISH
GHETTO BEGINS**



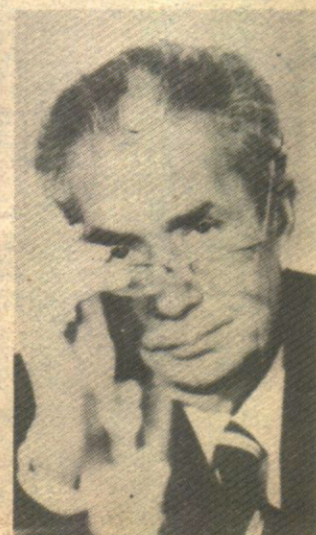
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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Jeffrey Bell

New right wins battle of ideas

Far from having a monopoly on political wisdom, the American left has barely been able to compete in the '70s.

While leftwingers were spinning paranoid fantasies of a new Sunbelt ruling class, the right understood that the importance of the rising Sunbelt was in the realm of politics, not policy. And while the left was poised between New Deal/Great Society liberalism and revolution-now, the right perceived the obsolescence, within straitened world economic circumstances, of New Deal liberalism and was developing, for better or worse, a new political approach.

Kevin Phillips, a young Washington lawyer and Nixon campaign aide, was the first of these rightwing theorists. In 1969, Phillips published *The Emerging Republican Majority* in which he argued that the New Deal dominance of American politics, which began with Franklin Roosevelt's 1932 victory, had ended in 1968 with Richard Nixon's election. Nixon's margin over Humphrey had been slim, but when combined with Wallace's vote, it added up to a 57 percent majority opposed to Humphrey-style Democratic politics.

Phillips believed that the Democrats' inability to deal with the "Negro socioeconomic revolution" spelled doom for them. "The Democratic party," he explained, "fell victim to the ideological impetus of a liberalism which had carried it beyond programs taxing the few to the benefit of the many (the New Deal) to programs taxing the many on behalf of the few (the Great Society)."

With the Democrats becoming the party of the "establishmentarian Northeast and the Negro South," the Republicans could forge a new coalition based on the "silent majority." "The great political upheaval of the 1960s," Phillips contended, was "the populist revolt of the American masses who have been elevated by prosperity to middle class status and conservatism. Their revolt is against the caste, policies and taxation of the mandarins of Establishment liberalism."

Because he saw the heart of this new middle class in the Sunbelt, Phillips' approach came to be called the "Southern strategy." But Phillips maintained that it

included blue and white collar workers in Northern cities and suburbs as well.

Watergate skewed the situation.

Phillips, who became special assistance to John Mitchell in the Nixon administration, thought his theories had been confirmed by the Nixon landslide of 1972, but then Watergate, in his words, "skewed the situation."

"It [the Southern strategy] was all ready to reach fulfillment and would have without Watergate," Phillips told me. "You would have had four years of Richard Nixon and John Connally using federal power and deals to knit the South into a new coalitional framework."

Phillips dropped out of active politics after Watergate and now resists any partisan label, including that of the new right. He shares the left's skepticism about the future of the Republican party ("I don't think the Republican party has any future to speak of," he told me.) But rightwing theorists have not been so quick to dismiss Phillips' theories.

One such theorist is Jeffrey Bell, a 35-year-old former Reagan aide who is challenging Clifford Case for the Republican senate nomination in New Jersey. Bell, who taught a seminar on conservatism at Harvard's Kennedy Institute, knows American political history, which in itself puts him a notch above such Democratic wisemen as David Garth and Patrick Caddell. In "The Road to Realignment," an essay published last September in the conservative weekly *Human Events*, Bell attempted to recast Phillips' theory to fit post-Watergate realities.

The Democrats' Southern strategy.

According to Bell, Watergate permitted Democrats to forestall the emerging Republican majority by adopting a Southern strategy and a post-New Deal politics of their own. Pointing to the Florida primary in which the northern Democrats threw their support to Carter against Wallace, Bell contends that "to a surprising degree, Jimmy Carter is the product of a conscious Southern strategy on the part of the national Democratic party." He compares Carter's victory to Grover Cleveland's in 1884 and 1892: "He cut just enough into the dominant coalition's pivotal strength to win nationally."

With the eclipse of Watergate as an issue, Bell expects Republican presidential candidates to regain their ascendancy. But what about Congress? Unlike Roosevelt in 1932, Nixon failed to carry a majority with him into Congress. And this was before Watergate. Bell acknowledges this seeming inconsistency, but he sets out, using the theories of MIT political scientists Walter Dean Burnham and Brookings Institute Fellow James Sundquist, to offer an explanation of it that will preserve Phillips' theory.

Bell argues that a period of political realignment occurs in two stages. In the first, a president is swept into office. In the second, a congressional majority is solidified as local and state politicians become schooled in the new political approach, and their aides gain the necessary *savoir-faire* to run winning campaigns.

In 1932, many of the Democrats that Roosevelt swept into office were pre-New Deal Democrats. By 1944, many of them had been defeated, and by 1946, the Republicans had regained a Congressional majority. It was only in 1948, when "programmatic liberals" like Hubert Humphrey came onto the scene, that a Congressional majority could be solidified.

According to Bell, the reason the first stage of the new post-New Deal realignment differs from its predecessor is the acceptance of ticket-splitting as a political practice. In 1968 and 1972, voters could vote for Richard Nixon without voting straight Republican tickets.

Otherwise, the pattern is the same. In 1978, ten years

after Nixon's victory, a new crop of "movement conservatives" are emerging, most of whom got their political experience in the new right of the '70s. Led by politicians like North Carolina's Jesse Helms, these movement conservatives will now begin to contest for power against both Democrats and "regular Republicans."

Issue militancy.

According to Bell, the main struggle between "movement conservatives" and "regular Republicans" will not be over issues, but over "issue militancy." "Shaped by the liberal New Deal atmosphere, regular Republicans are understandably pessimistic about the possibility of using well-defined conservative issue positions to change votes."

Because they regard Americans as basically liberal, they soften their own positions and rely on style and personality to win votes. Their goal is to attract the Democrats who were formerly Republicans.

Movement conservatives, like the programmatic liberals of 1948, "use issue militancy to appeal to the realigning forces of the new era." They assume a potential conservative majority. And recognizing that the U.S. is in a period of realignment, they reject the strategy of moving to the center.

Their main future opponents may not be the "regular Republicans" but Democrats like Jerry Brown who have also been adjusting their politics to the post-New Deal world. These Democrats are the counterpart of liberal Republicans like Thomas Dewey, Harold Stassen, and Clifford Case who in the '40s adjusted themselves to the New Deal.

The main battleground will be in the South, where Bell believes the "clearest path toward a Republican congressional majority" lies. Led by Helms, Republicans must, according to Bell, seek to convert a "considerable portion of the Southern Democrats' more conservative wing."

Helms vs. Turnipseed.

Like Phillips, Bell understands the importance of the South and the Sunbelt for any future political realignment. He also sees the role of government in economic growth as the key issue. And unlike his counterparts on the Democratic left, he recognizes that during a period of realignment a new coalition can be forged only on the base of "issue militancy."

Because they have followed Bell's approach, the new rightists have already shifted the political debate onto their terrain. Even when they lose, as in the recent John Anderson congressional victory over new rightist Don Lyon, they force "regular Republicans" and Democrats to adopt their positions.

But there are critical problems with Bell's understanding of the South and of the relevance of Watergate, which would seem to defy a new right solution.

Bell's South is still the pre-boom, pre-integration South of Wallace and Lester Maddox, not that of Bill Baxley, Dale Bumpers, Reuben Askew, Jimmy Carter. In the long run, ex-Wallace aide turned populist Tom Turnipseed, who is running for governor in South Carolina on an anti-racist, anti-corporate platform, may foreshadow the South's coming realignment as much as Jesse Helms or Strom Thurmond.

And Bell's (and Phillips') view of Watergate as a purely fortuitous event is naive. It arose partly from Nixon's attempt to prolong the war and to follow conservative policies at home and at the same time ensure re-election. Any president who followed the conservative prescription for growth—sharp tax cuts, increased military spending, and decreased social spending—would soon find himself faced with a more strident opposition than Nixon or Ford had to face.

Of course, they could decide to muddle along, but then what would we have...Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter! ■

IN THESE TIMES

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U.S./CHILE

Letelier probe threatens Pinochet rule

By Saul Landau

WASHINGTON

GENERAL PINOCHET'S DAYS are numbered," a high State department official confided to Isabel Letelier, widow of Orlando Letelier, as recent new developments became known in the investigation of his assassination.

"Ironically," the official continued, "your husband's murder has become the instrument which all of Pinochet's enemies have begun to use to rid themselves of the bloody tyrant."

Letelier, former Chilean Ambassador to the U.S., and Ronni Karpen Moffitt died on Sept. 21, 1976, when a bomb exploded in the car being driven by Letelier on his way to the Institute for Policy Studies, where both worked. Letelier directed the Transnational Institute, IPS's international program. Michael Moffitt, Ronni's husband, who was riding in the back seat, miraculously survived the explosion.

Mrs. Letelier, after her conversation with the State department official, confirmed from her contacts in Chile that Pinochet's image has reached an all-time low. "When he appears on television now," said a Chilean journalist in Washington, "he resembles a puppy who has just made wee wee on the rug."

Townley arrested.

Indeed, Pinochet's governmental carpet is stained, but the stench is from human blood. The FBI and the Assistant U.S. Attorney in charge of the case have solid circumstantial evidence that DINA, Chile's recently dissolved secret police, hired Cuban exiles to murder Letelier.

Add that the trail of the order to assassinate leads directly to Pinochet's own door. By the terms of the decree that founded DINA and that was signed by Pinochet himself—the organization is answerable directly only to himself.

Michael Vernon Townley, a U.S. citizen who has lived most of his life in Chile, was arrested there and turned over to U.S. officials. As of April 12 he was being held in the Washington D.C. area without bail as a material witness to the crime. Townley served as the equivalent of a CIA case officer in the murder plot: The CIA organized DINA in its own image. He met with Cuban exiles on several occasions, purchased a remote control detonator in Ft. Lauderdale, Fla., and oversaw the entire assassination plot.

This included contacting leaders of Brigade 2506, the organization of the Bay of Pigs veterans who had awarded Pinochet their first Freedom Award in 1975, and activists from the MNO, an ideologically fascist group of exile terrorists.

They placed Letelier under surveillance and attached a C-4 plastic explosive to the I-beam of his Chevrolet with Townley's remote control operated detonator. Plans were then made to escape and back-up procedures laid out.

Part of the planning involved an American connection, a former CIA official who worked secretly with DINA officials. The American adviser worked as a consultant and helped activate a cover plan to throw police off the track and to disinform the public by planting false and misleading stories in the press. These stories stemmed from copies of selected documents from Letelier's briefcase, which survived the explosion and were copied by the American. They were then distributed, along with explanations for certain texts, to chosen members of the press and ultimately to anyone who would read them. Their appearance in *Newsweek*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Star*, and many right-wing syndicated columns and periodicals had the clear intent of smearing Letelier, thus victimizing the victim.

The investigation bogged down while false leads were pursued and as the CIA withheld or planted false information



Michael Moffitt and Isabel Letelier (left) walk with the Leteliers' children at the funeral in Washington of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt. Letelier and Moffitt were murdered on Sept. 11, 1976, when a bomb went off in their car.

with investigative bodies. FBI Special Agent Carter Cornick and U.S. Assistant Attorney Eugene Propper, however, persevered and overcame the obstacles placed in their paths by erstwhile colleagues in the Bureau and the intelligence community.

Pressure from U.S.

They placed their evidence before representatives of the State department and asked the department to deliver a *Letters Rogatory* motion designed to investigate suspected criminals abroad at the highest levels of government. Then the U.S. decided to pursue the killers in Chile.

The decision made by the Carter administration to follow the killers had two objectives: one, to show that foreign secret police—even of friendly powers—could not commit murders in Washington and, two, to remove an ugly pimple, Pinochet, on Chile's face.

So Propper filed the *Letters Rogatory* with the State department. The procedure involved the submission by the U.S. Ambassador in Chile of a series of questions to individuals there, which were then delivered by the Chilean Foreign Minister to the Chilean court system. The letters had to indicate that there was sufficient proof to warrant such an inquiry, a complicated legal decision if not accompanied by diplomatic pressures in line with this.

U.S. Ambassador to Chile George Landau soon began hinting to the Chilean government that if their cooperation did not ensue he was likely to be recalled and that the possibility of severing diplomatic relations could not be ruled out.

Chilean press reasserts itself.

Once the trail led U.S. authorities to Chilean soil, a series of odd happenings alerted opposition forces from all sectors that Pinochet's clutch on Chile's power structure had begun to loosen. Inside the U.S. State department similar analyses were formulated.

The move opened the door for the Chilean press, muzzled for over four years, to begin to reassert itself, and it began to conduct its own investigation of the case revealing new material and asking embarrassing questions of Pinochet. It established, for instance, that the same man responsible for issuing an official Chilean passport to Townley and a DINA cohort and then requesting A-2 visas that permitted them multiple entry into the U.S., had died in mysterious circumstances.

In October 1977 the official, Guillermo Osorio, was at first reported to have died of a heart attack. After a month, the body underwent an autopsy, revealing that a gaping gunshot wound on the forehead had caused Osorio's heart to fail. The official version was changed to suicide.

Not long after that incident, Pinochet, knowing of U.S. moves to investigate DINA officials, called for a plebiscite without the consent of at least two of the other members of the four-man ruling junta. Gen. Gustavo Leigh of the air force made public his strong disagreement with the move, calling it stupid, and the Chilean press had a field day reporting the first public dispute between members of the ruling clique.

The plebiscite, which was conducted in such a way as to ensure support for himself, subjected Pinochet to worldwide ridicule.

Soon after news of the *Letters Rogatory* procedure reached them, Chilean officials denied that the names mentioned therein existed. Then the photos of the two DINA agents were leaked to the U.S. press. *El Mercurio*, Chile's leading daily and the principal press weapon against Allende, ran the photos. Pinochet said neither photo belonged to members of the Chilean armed forces.

Soon thereafter *El Mercurio* provided the real names for the aliases that accompanied the *Letters Rogatory* request. Armando Fernandez Larios, one of the persons identified, was a captain in the Chilean army. Pinochet went on television and explained that the newspaper copies of the photo had too little detail for him to make a positive identification. "More wee wee on the carpet," said the Chilean journalist.

DINA chief resigns.

The Chilean press then demanded clarification. Who in the Chilean Foreign ministry had requested official passports and U.S. visas for two men traveling under false names? Juan Williams Rose and Alejandro Romeral Jara were in reality Townley and infantry Captain Fernandez Larios. The name Juan Williams struck a strange chord since a Chilean naval hero by that name conquered in 1843 the Straits of Magellan on Sept. 21, the day chosen for the murder of Orlando Letelier.

U.S. Assistant Attorney Propper flew to Chile with FBI Special Agent Carter Cornick on March 19. High State department officials made known to the press

their understanding that the Chilean government had committed at the very least a serious impropriety and that strong evidence supported allegations made by Mrs. Letelier, Mr. Moffitt, and the Institute for Policy Studies that from the outset Pinochet and his DINA were deeply involved in the murders.

The DINA Director General Manuel Contreras then resigned voluntarily and has since refused to concede any interviews. Unconfirmed reports state that Contreras has been placed under house arrest.

The Osorio suicide was reported if not by the coroner at least by the press. Townley and Fernandez were produced for interrogation by a Chilean court when Propper and Cornick made a second trip to Chile, and after more threats were made by the U.S. State department about the possible implications of less than full cooperation on the murder investigation.

In the U.S. administration a secret debate over U.S.-Chile policy has been given increased momentum by the Letelier investigation. Forces still loyal to former Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs Terence Todman argue that the U.S. should praise Pinochet for his recent positive responses to U.S. prodding on human rights, and instead of working against him with the Letelier-Moffitt case, should reward him for releasing some political prisoners. Newer and more liberal groups respond that Pinochet is a disgrace and that he is known throughout the world by all respected bodies as our disgrace. They contend that any moves to oust him that might further liberalization would be welcome and that the Letelier-Moffitt case must be solved if only for U.S. respect and dignity. The anti-Pinochet forces are prevailing since the issuance of the *Letters Rogatory* and the revelation that DINA was implicated in the murders, thus automatically linking Pinochet to the killings.

Power struggle.

Meanwhile the power struggle within Chile has also heated up. Gen. Leigh made a swift secret visit to Pentagon chums last week and reportedly held secret meetings with former Christian Democratic President Eduardo Frei.

The Chilean oligarchy, itself represented by the Edwards family and its newspaper *El Mercurio*, have increased government accountability. Pinochet with his back to the wall makes new concessions

Continued on page 18.

IN THE NATION

LABOR

Middle managers are unhappy

By Dan Marshall

WATCH OUT, TOP CORPORATE executives—middle management power is gonna get your money! That's the central message that emerges from several recent articles in the business press about the increasing dissatisfaction, restlessness and pro-union sympathies of middle managers, the vast layer of the corporate hierarchy that encompasses individuals from the first level of supervision up to the chief executive officer.

"There is overwhelming agreement... that managerial frustration and discontent with corporate life are increasing," Steven H. Applebaum writes in *Business Society*. Businessmen are particularly concerned about an American Management Association (AMA) survey in which one out of every three middle managers responding said that they would join, or consider joining, a managers' union.

In another study among 2,800 businessmen the AMA found that "an alarming 40 percent of all surveyed middle managers and 52 percent of the reporting sup-

ervisory managers say that they find their work, at best, unsatisfying."

What's the problem here? Business writers seem to have a good idea, but corporate executives appear unwilling to make the changes required to stem the "open rebellion" brewing in their organizations. The position of middle manager, Applebaum finds, "is often a perilous one, with little inherent security." The middle manager, who basically exists because the top executive of a large organization cannot cope with the heavy workload, often feels like the powerless extension of that executive. If things go badly, the middle manager routinely serves as the scapegoat for decisions made by his superiors.

Middle managers face an assortment of other difficulties. Their actual influence and authority is usually less than what top management originally told them it would be. As they confront more specialized duties, middle managers also experience a "loss of career flexibility." Finally, their jobs can become obsolete as a result of technological change, changing cultural values or internal politics.

In addition, managers are growing more disgruntled with the long hours of



The position of a middle manager is often a perilous one with little job security and little recognition for a job well done.

work that are imposed upon them. Even in "project-oriented" industries like electronics companies and banking firms, "professionals and middle-level managers are growing less tolerant of any atmosphere that smacks of 'workaholicism,' and of higher executives who load back-breaking projects onto them without breathers in between," says a recent article in *Business Week*.

In part the changing attitudes of middle-level management is due to the general "erosion of the work ethic" among

young people. "It's rare to find younger managers who are wedded to their jobs," a consulting firm executive told *Business Week*.

For the smooth operation of the corporate world, the results of this trend are "frightening," notes Applebaum. "A greater and greater proportion of the pool of managerial talent will be made up of individuals who lack the motivation needed to seek out and succeed in managerial positions...who lack the crucial will to manage."

McDonald's workers consider unionizing

By Tom Young & Paul Engleman

CHICAGO

SOONER OR LATER, SOMEONE had to challenge McDonald's low-wage, non-union success formula. Appropriately enough, the present resistance is coming out of Chicago, just a few miles from McDonald's corporate headquarters and Hamburger U. campus.

Local 593 of the Hotel-Restaurant Workers filed for an election with the National Labor Relations Board Jan. 24, initiating what could become a threat to McDonald's low-wage operations. The NLRB is required to rule on the proposal May 20, and if the agency decides in favor of the union, an election could be held within 30 days, barring appeals and other delaying tactics.

The union began organizing a McDonald's in downtown Chicago last December and had little difficulty obtaining signatures from 70 percent of the store's employees—more than twice the 30 percent required by law for an election. By the union's count the store has 103 employees, but a union spokesperson charges that the store's owner, Lyon-Weber Management, which owns 12 other McDonald's in the Chicago area, has since "beefed" up its staff, claiming 125 workers.

The NLRB is now considering whether all 13 of Lyon-Weber's McDonald's or just the downtown operation should be defined as the appropriate bargaining unit. Lyon-Weber naturally contends that the union signatures must cover 30 percent of its entire chain and has taken steps—keeping all time cards locked away, for instance—to limit the union's efforts to recruit employees in other parts of the chain.

Lyon-Weber also brought in a representative from McDonald's corporate headquarters to hold "rap sessions" with the workers and has posted bulletin-board flyers and cartoons ridiculing union promises in an effort to prevent additional employees from joining the organizing work. The union responded with complaints to



McDonald's workers earn an average \$2.75 an hour, have no sick pay, no paid holidays, no health insurance, no vacations, and no job security. They have been able to get away with this because there was an abundant pool of cheap, unorganized labor. Unionizing efforts may make it more difficult.

the NLRB charging unfair labor practices and interference with workers' rights. The NLRB has yet to rule on these charges.

While the general impression appears to be that most McDonald's employees are teenagers or students working part time to earn extra spending money, the union says that half the employees at the downtown franchise are full-time (working 40-hour weeks spread over six days) whose primary income comes from McDonald's.

McDonald's workers receive the following wages and benefits:

- Salary: Approximately \$2.75 an hour. Lyon-Weber claims that employees are paid from \$2.70 to \$3.00 an hour, but the Hotel-Restaurant Workers note that some workers receive minimum-wage pay of \$2.65. Employees theoretically get paid every 15 days, but the union reports that paychecks are often late.

- Sick pay: None.
- Holidays: Two. Christmas and Thanksgiving. Unpaid.
- Health insurance: None.
- Vacations: None. Employees must take a nonsalaried leave of absence to take vacation.

- Job security: None. The union reports at least two cases of employees being fired on the spot. One for returning five minutes late from break, the other for taking a bite out of a hamburger while on duty.

One might expect that McDonald's employees would at least be able to stay fed, if not well-fed, on an inexhaustible supply of Big Macs, Quarter-Pounders and other fast-food creations. Not so at the Lyon-Weber franchise. Employees must pay full retail price for all food they eat, and their lunch hours are often consumed waiting in line with customers—fast food does not always come fast—to order it.

Workers must also consent to taking a polygraph examination at any time.

The fast food industry has made great gains in recent years due to rapid suburbanization, a booming economy and a large unskilled and cheap pool of service workers. None of these factors may hold for the future. Suburbs are growing at a slower rate now—a factor that, with the fast food saturation of many areas in the suburbs, has pushed McDonald's and other enterprises to open inner city operations like the one in Chicago—and a new boom in the economy seems unlikely. At the same time, according to the *Monthly Labor Review*, there will be a substantial tightening in the unskilled, low-wage service industry market in the 1980s. With these changes, McDonald's ability to subject its workers to inferior standards may be called into question.

Tom Young and Paul Engleman are writers in Chicago.

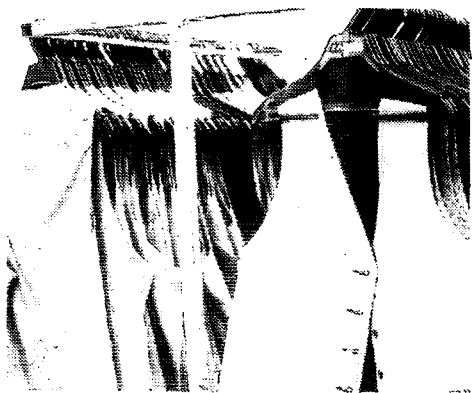
LABOR

Photos/Emily Honig



When striking Farah workers returned after their victorious two-year strike, they found that the organization of production had drastically changed and that they were at a disadvantage.

Setbacks for Farah workers union



By Laurie Coyle, Emily Honig
and Gail Hershatter

AS LOW-PAYING LABOR-INTENSIVE industries have moved to the Southwest since World War II, the use of Chicana/Mexicana labor has been a key factor in their success. Chicanas make up nearly half of all women employed in the apparel industry in Texas, and in border cities like El Paso the percentage is much higher.

At the Farah Manufacturing Company, which makes men's pants, virtually all of the workers are Chicano and 85 percent are women. These women were the force behind a two-year strike and boycott at Farah, disposing of the twin myths that women couldn't be organized and that the Southwest could continue to be a haven for non-union shops.

Unlike many other southwest garment plants that ran away from the unionized northwest, Farah got its start in El Paso. By the early '70s Farah owned 11 plants, five of them in El Paso, making it the second largest employer in town.

Many in El Paso saw Willie Farah as a folk hero who gave his workers turkeys at Thanksgiving and parties at Christmas and provided free health care and refreshments at work.

The workers at Farah tell another story. Before the strike wages were low, raises were based on favoritism, and women with several years on the job were still being paid minimum wage. Women who were willing to date their Anglo supervisors were given preferential treatment, while others were subjected to constant harassment. "The supervisors would snap their fingers at you, bang the machine and push you," one worker recalled. There was no job security and no grievance procedure.

Health and safety regulations were

practically nonexistent. Because of faulty equipment, accidents were common. Needles often snapped off the sewing machines, piercing the eyes and fingers of the seamstresses. Many ailments were misdiagnosed by the plant doctor. When women left the plant to have a baby, they lost their seniority; there was no maternity insurance. "They could keep their turkey," one woman said. "We needed better conditions, better safety."

The strike.

In 1969 the workers began a union drive to affiliate with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA). As organizing spread through Farah plants, the company harassed and fired union sympathizers. Despite these tactics, support for the union grew, culminating in a walkout in May 1972.

At first, reaction to the strike was hostile. El Paso media virtually blacked out news of the strike. Picketers were verbally and physically assaulted.

Even more serious were the tensions created within the Chicano community itself, and between the El Paso Chicanos and the Mexicanos from the neighboring border city of Juarez.

Skyrocketing unemployment on both sides of the border, but particularly in Juarez, made it easy for Farah to replace strikers with workers from the swollen ranks of the unemployed. Newspapers and unions in Juarez did support the strike and a small number of Mexican workers at Farah did join the strikers, but 50 percent unemployment in Mexico made it hard to fight against strikebreaking.

Though many strikers realized that the economic crisis forced people to find work where they could, the conflict tended to exacerbate nationalistic divisions at the precise moment when unity was most needed.

As the months wore on strikers faced increasing financial hardships. Union strike benefits of \$30 a week were inadequate for most families. Women who could find work elsewhere did so, but if their new employers discovered that they were Farah strikers they were usually fired.

Despite these hardships, the women discovered new sources of support for themselves as workers. The ACWA sent organizers to El Paso, disbursed weekly strike benefits, helped organize a nationwide boycott of Farah pants, conducted classes, and showed films. The Catholic

church endorsed the strike and allowed the strikers to meet in local church buildings. Workers from other plants in El Paso and across the country lent support to the strikers.

The strike was a pivotal experience for the women involved. They began to do things they had never imagined possible: walking picket lines, speaking at meetings and rallies, and traveling nationally to promote the boycott. Some of the most active strikers formed a rank-and-file group which took the name *Unidad Para Siempre* (Unity Forever).

These experiences changed the way the women look at themselves—as women, wives and workers—the way they relate to their families, fellow workers, supervisors, and community. During the strike they made their own decisions and began to question their own attitudes.

"For years I wouldn't do anything without asking my husband's permission. I see myself now, and I think, good grief, married 19 years and having to ask to buy a pair of underwear! During the strike it started changing. I began to stand up for myself, and I began to feel that I should be accepted for the person I am."

Return to work.

In February 1974 a decision by an Administrative Law and National Labor Relations Board judge prompted Farah to recognize the union. A contract was negotiated and ratified and the workers went back to the plants, hoping that their long struggle would result in better working conditions.

When the strikers returned to the factory, however, they found that the organization of production had changed dramatically. In an attempt to keep up with the market Farah was diversifying production to include men's leisure suits and jackets. Women were given little or no retraining, yet they were expected to meet impossibly high production quotas. Many suffered wage reductions and eventually were fired for low production.

At the same time Farah made serious management errors which undermined his position in the highly competitive garment industry. The recession added to his problems. In the three years following the strike more than half of the employees were laid off, and several of the Farah plants were closed.

Many workers filed grievances protesting the high quotas, layoffs, and harassment of union members, overwhelming

the shop stewards with the number of grievances. The stewards were then harassed by the management when they tried to enforce the contract and were among the first to be laid off during Farah's severe cutbacks. To make matters worse the inexperienced business agents hired by the union were unable to defend the shop stewards and prosecute grievances.

A final problem was that because Texas is a right-to-work state, Farah employees did not have to join the union in order to receive benefits.

In the absence of a strong union, *Unidad Para Siempre* began to play a more active role. It pushed the union to demand more fundamental reforms, including elimination of the quota system, improved training for shop stewards and—most importantly—greater rank-and-file participation in settling grievances between the workers and the company. But the strength of this organization diminished as the company laid off and fired *Unidad* members until only a few remained at Farah. Today these ex-employees feel that the union did not fight to defend their jobs because, like the company, it felt threatened by their activism.

By the time negotiations for the second contract began in 1977, the position of the workers had been weakened by firings, layoffs, tensions among the workers and inadequate support from the union.

Farah management spent the first few days of negotiations telling the workers about the company's financial woes. The workers were told, "You can ask for the moon, but if we give it to you we'll fold tomorrow and you'll all be out on the street." Union lawyers urged the negotiating committee to accept Farah's terms.

The 1977 contracts calls for a meager 30 cent pay boost over three years, eliminates dental benefits, retains the quota system, and allows Farah to lay off workers who have seniority and then call them back to work on a different production line at the minimum wage. Although it is still uncertain whether Farah will recover from its economic crisis, it is already clear that under the terms of the 1977 contract, the workers are paying for Farah's problems.

The contract was hastily presented to the workers in a short meeting held in the cafeteria at the Gateway plant. Union officials read it in legalistic Spanish that few workers could understand, and discour-

Continued on page 17

LABOR

Transit workers may reject NY pact

By George Carrano
and Jonathan Fisher

NEW YORK

RANK AND FILE TRANSIT WORKERS here appear to be less than satisfied with a proposed new contract, negotiated at the eleventh hour between the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, Mayor Edward Koch and the Transport Workers Union.

"We won't be fooled again," says Paddy, a 52-year-old bus cleaner, recalling how TWU workers had been pressured into accepting a no-raise contract in 1976 because the "city was broke."

"They told us we all had to pull together—everybody," adds Roosevelt, a bus operator from the Bronx with 12 years on the road, his voice full of bitterness.

Paddy and Roosevelt and others like them among the union's 33,000 bus operators, motormen, maintenance crews and clerks in this city's 13 train yards and 21 bus depots, say they will vote "no" on the proposed contract when it comes before the membership for ratification in a secret, mail-in vote later this month.

An informal poll by the *New York Post* shortly after the agreement was announced found nearly three-quarters of the workers surveyed against the pact. Even union officials say that it has only a 50-50 chance of passage unless there is a sudden turnaround in support.

The controversial agreement calls for a 6 percent increase in wages over the next two years, a flat \$250 bonus payable July 1, and an unspecified cost-of-living adjustment in 1979 in exchange for "increased productivity"—also unspecified. In a major change the settlement allows the MTA to hire part-time workers.

Municipal transit authorities across the country have long sought the ability to hire part-time labor, faced as they are

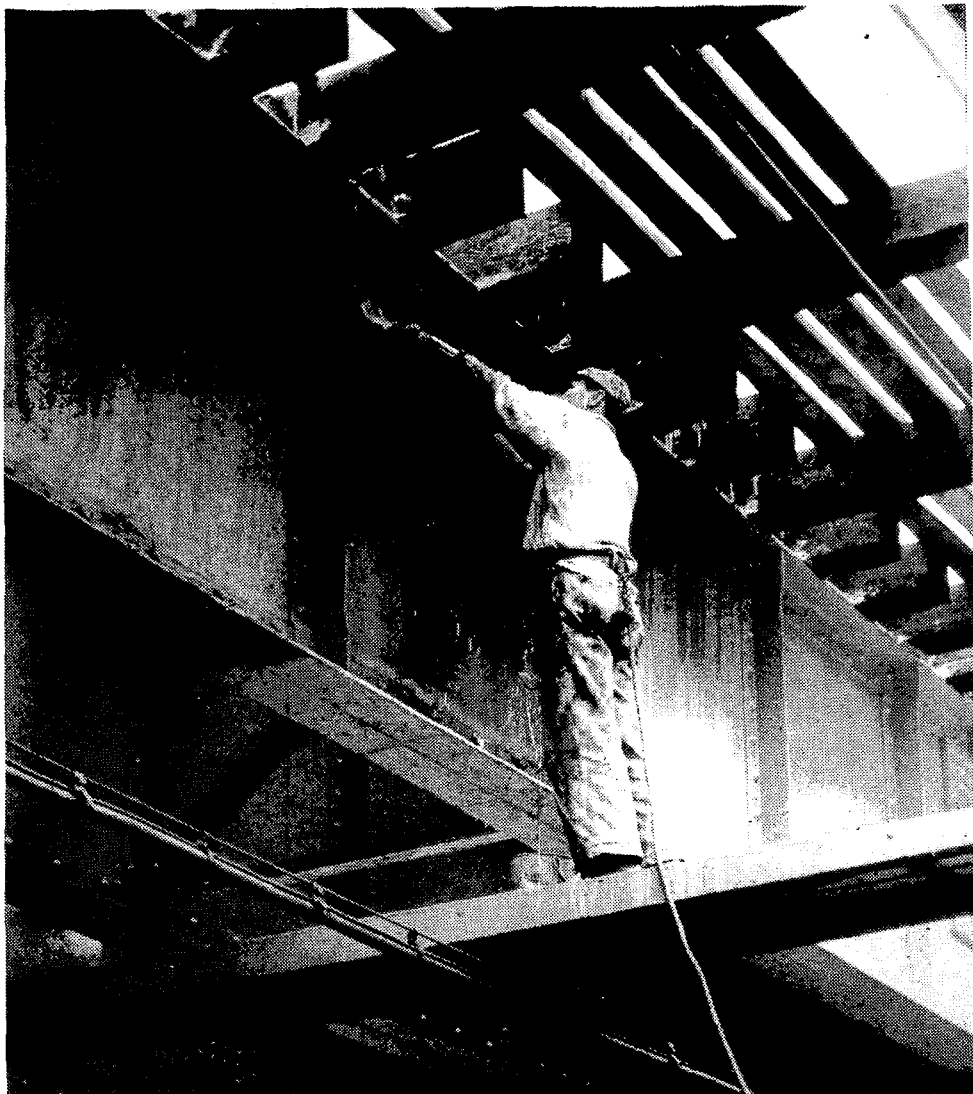
with two short, widely separated demand periods a day, the morning and evening rush hours. In New York the TWU has traditionally remained firm on this question, viewing part-time labor as a threat to their guaranteed 40 hours weekly pay—and possibly to the closed shop. With this contract the TWU has opened the door, however, permitting management to hire 200 part-time workers.

Over the past two years the loyalty once given without question to the TWU from the rank and file has eroded. There is a new attitude of distrust as workers question the fairness of the upcoming mail vote. This is something that the TWU leadership has never had to contend with in the past.

The predominantly Irish leadership is also facing a serious challenge from within the union as the once largely Irish membership is being replaced—through retirement or flight from the city—by a growing number of black and Hispanic members. Divisions within the union ranks are exacerbated by a proliferation of warring ethnic societies, each pursuing narrowly defined group interests and often represented by individuals in higher management. These societies include the Emerald Society, the Columbians, Afro-American Association, Shalom Society and the Hispanic-American Society.

The TWU-MTA agreement was reached four-and-a-half hours after a strike by the transit workers was to have taken place. The clock was stopped at 11:30 p.m., March 31, however, as negotiators for the union, the MTA and the city dug in for a final round of bargaining. Mayor Koch announced five hours later that a settlement had been reached.

Koch had been adamant that the union would have to give back certain benefits won in the past, including paid lunches and paid report-and-clear time. The TWU had been equally adamant that there would be no such givebacks. The agree-



Rank and file transit workers are not pleased with the proposed contract, which does not keep up with inflation and has several important concessions to management.

ment on part-time labor was apparently part of the compromise.

The MTA was apparently more willing to agree to the 6 percent pay hike than the city. Aware that other city unions would demand parity with the transit workers in terms of wage increases and feeling Washington's concern for the city to act tough with its unions at a time when it was requesting financial aid from Congress, Koch had to be persuaded by the MTA that the transit workers "would walk" if they did not get the 6 percent increase.

New York Gov. Hugh Carey, up for reelection this year and not eager for a transit strike, made \$78 million in state funds available for the \$97 million package, and Koch agreed to the deal.

New Yorkers were relieved that the threat of a transit strike was lifted. Koch

had warned city employees that they would not be paid unless they showed up for work, and private industry had been encouraged to take a similarly hard line. Koch had also threatened to use the Taylor law, which forbids public employees to strike against the TWU. When first applied against the teachers union a few years ago it proved a powerful weapon in weakening that union—the right of the union to withhold dues was withdrawn for six months, fines were imposed on the union and the loss of two days' pay for every day out on strike was imposed on the teachers.

If the transit workers reject the proposed contract there is the possibility of an immediate walkout in this mass transit-dependent city.

George Carrano and Jonathan Fisher work for the NYC Transit Authority.

ARMS SALES

Carolinsans mobilize against arms shipments

By Bob McMahon

RALEIGH, N. C.

ALUCRATIVE CONTRACT FOR shipping arms to Iran has become a target for human rights activists in North Carolina. On March 13 the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) announced it was launching a public campaign to force cancellation of a contract between the state-owned port of Wilmington, N.C., and the Arya Shipping Co., an Iranian government shipping line.

According to AFSC staff worker Chuck Eppinette, the group would seek public hearings before the State Ports Authority in September to challenge the scheduled renewal of the contract with Arya.

Eppinette explained that AFSC was opposed to the shipments "because Iran is one of the leading human rights violators in the world," with an estimated 25,000 to 100,000 political prisoners in its jails. "We oppose the arming of such human rights violators," Eppinette said.

AFSC is also opposed "to the use of arms sales as a part of U.S. foreign policy," said Eppinette. Iran is the largest single purchaser of American military equipment, having ordered over \$8.8 billion in weapons between 1974 and 1976.

Noted Iranian writer Reza Bahareni sent a message of support to the AFSC, calling arms shipments to Iran a

great threat to the lives of Iranians and to peace in the Middle East.

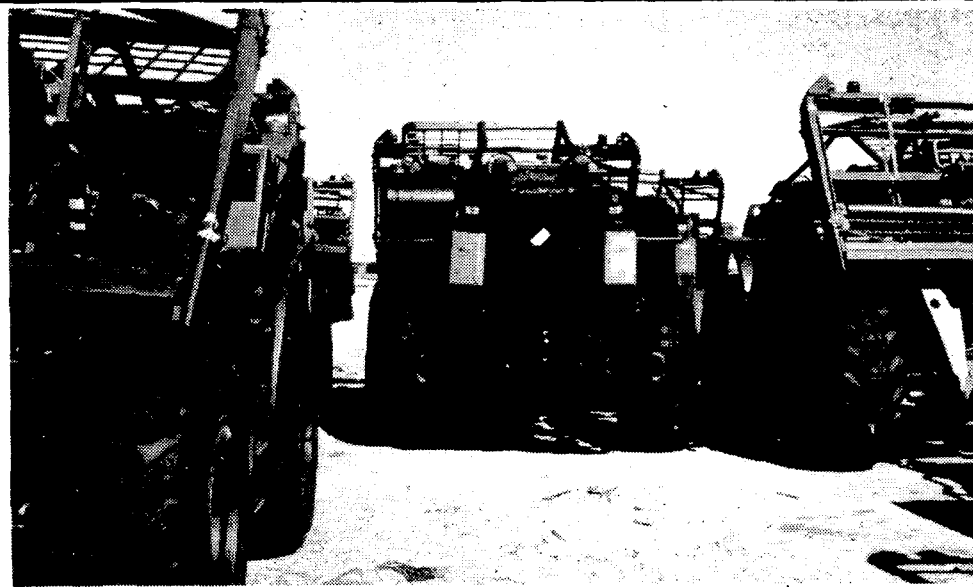
"In a recent assault of the Iranian army on the people of my home town, Tabriz," Bahareni wrote, "American weapons, including tanks, machine guns, artillery and even helicopters sold to Iran by Textron's Bell Helicopter, were used. More than 1,000 people were killed by American-trained Iranian troops."

Bahareni, considered Iran's greatest living literary figure, is the author of *Crowned Cannibals*, a study of the Shah's dictatorship. He himself was tortured while held as a political prisoner in Iran.

The contract between Arya Shipping Co. and the N.C. State Ports Authority was announced Nov. 15, 1978. According to Arya officials, the contract will involve a major relocation of the Iranian company's shipping business from New York and other Atlantic and Gulf Coast ports. Lower labor costs were cited as a major reason for the move.

The precise volume and nature of the new trade were left vague in statements by Arya and the State Ports Authority. Although a State Ports Authority spokesman, Leo Lively, described the new business as "strictly military," Solomon Apararian, assistant director of Arya, claimed that only about half of his company's exports from the U.S. were military.

While Lively had predicted 1,200 to 1,500 containers per year being exported



Military equipment being shipped through Wilmington to the Mideast.

through Wilmington, Apararian estimated the volume at 360 to 480 containers per year. General cargo not in containers will also be shipped from the N.C. Port.

U.S. sales of military equipment to Iran are expected to exceed \$15 billion over the next five years, much of it shipped through Wilmington.

According to Lively, the State Ports Authority and the state government's industry recruiting division have discussed encouraging more military equipment manufacturers to locate in North Carolina to be nearer the port of Wilmington.

Besides the Iranian contract the North Carolina port has recently signed a contract with the Behring Shipping Company, which ships arms to Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia is the second largest purchaser of American arms.

Noting that human rights conditions are not much better in Saudi Arabia than in Iran, Eppinette said that the American

Friends Service Committee would also oppose renewal of that shipping contract.

Eppinette said that AFSC would carry out a campaign over the next six-months to educate the people of North Carolina about the shipments of arms to Iran and Saudi Arabia and the part these arms play in repressing human rights in these countries.

Besides pressing for cancellation of military shipments from North Carolina's state-owned ports, Eppinette said that AFSC would work to have the state government seek non-military business to substitute for these shipments. "We understand the great need for jobs in the Wilmington area," Eppinette said, "but feel that the shipment of military equipment is not the best way to supply these jobs."

Bob McMahon is a reporter in North Carolina who writes frequently for *IN THESE TIMES*.



Although early opposition to Harvard's proposed total energy plant was undercut when Harvard bought off its leading opponent, other community activists carried on the fight, eventually mobilizing an effective city-wide coalition.

CITIES

Harvard energy plant opposed

By John Grady

BOSTON

RESIDENTS OF THIS AND NEIGHBORING communities are involved in a head-on confrontation with Harvard University and the largest medical complex in the nation. At issue is construction of a Harvard-sponsored electrical generating plant, the Medical Area Total Energy Plant (MATEP), in the Mission Hill district of Roxbury. The plant would serve the Harvard-connected medical complex.

Plant opponents won an important victory Jan. 31 when the State Department of Environmental Quality Engineering (DEQE), in a surprise decision, disapproved a series of diesel generators that would produce dangerous levels of nitrogen dioxide in the surrounding area.

For years activists from the embattled Mission Hill neighborhood stood almost alone in opposing the proposed plant. Then, beginning in late 1976, opposition began to mount, particularly in the adjacent, affluent town of Brookline. Eventually a loose coalition—Neighborhood Organizations Mobilized against the Total Energy Plant (NOMATEP)—was formed. The coalition includes some 47 organizations and prominent figures from all across the Boston area, including Rep. Robert Drinan, the Selectmen of the Town of Brookline, such unlikely allies as Boston Fair Share and their long-standing nemesis, the local utility, Boston Edison, and a host of neighborhood associations. Over 600 people turned out on a bitterly cold, wet night in December 1977 for the last of a series of DEQE hearings on MARWP to voice their opposition to the plant's construction.

Apparently, the breadth of public opposition, combined with condemnations of MATEP from the American Lung Association of Massachusetts and the Department of Public Health, was enough to convince Dr. Anthony Cortese, director of DEQE, that the electrical generating portion of the plant could not go unchallenged.

Controlling medical complex.

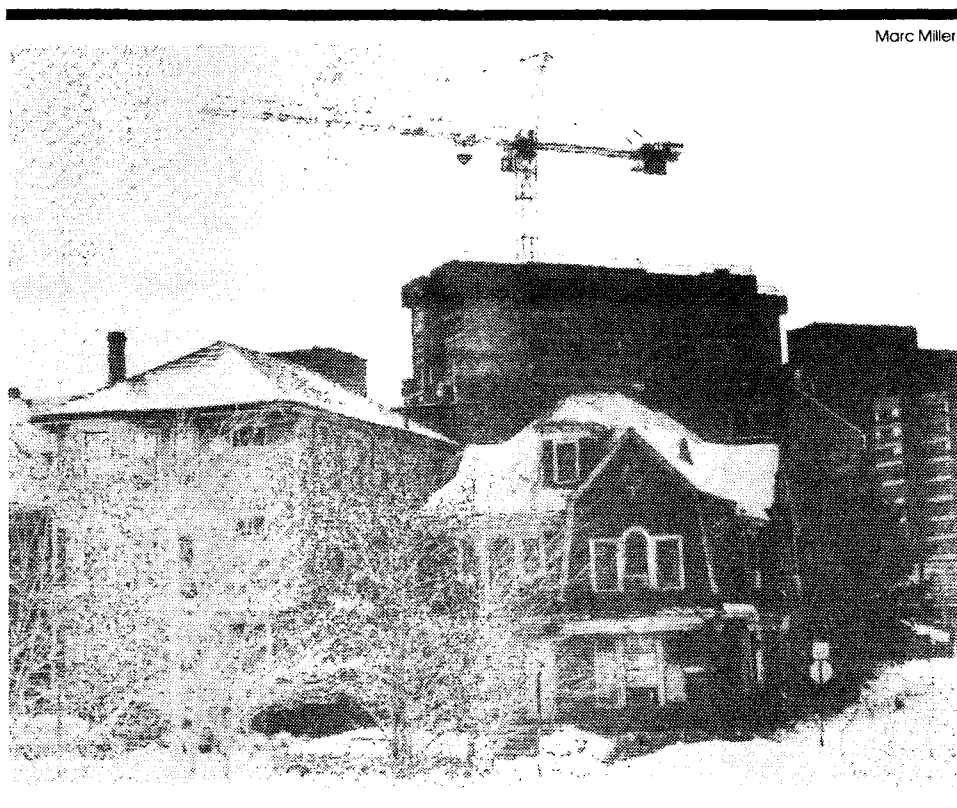
Underlying the MATEP proposal is Harvard's desire to bring under its control the nearby medical complex. Unlike other medical empires, Harvard does not have its own teaching hospitals but has to negotiate its relationships with institutions having their own internal politics and relatively independent boards of trustees.

Federal largesse during the '60s strengthened the role of the Harvard Medical School in the system of health care, but it also underwrote rapid expansion for all the various hospitals in the complex. Duplication of services by the separate hospitals—even to the point of planning to build different facilities on the same piece of land—also made them particularly susceptible to criticism from opponents in Mission Hill and, more importantly, from various state and federal regulatory bodies.

In response to the internal chaos of the medical complex and increasing opposition from the surrounding community the Harvard Corporation hired Hale Champion (now undersecretary of the federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare). If anybody knows the ins and outs of land-grabbing, it is Champion, who served his apprenticeship in Boston as director of the Boston Redevelopment Authority from 1968-70.

tal energy plant, MATEP, that would provide cleaner and more efficient heat and chilled water to participating institutions, as well as fulfill the area's electrical needs.

The idea of MATEP came at an opportune time. The businessmen who act as trustees for the various medical institutions were acutely aware of rising energy costs and conscious of the growing threat posed by groups like Fair Share that argued for substantial changes in utility rate



Marc Miller

In its efforts to bring the medical complex under its control Harvard is willing to endanger the health of nearby residents.

Champion, appointed vice-president for financial affairs at Harvard in 1971, realized that while Harvard's most dangerous opponents were in Mission Hill, a major part of the university's problem was the chaotic administrative structure of the institutions in the medical area. He also realized that criticisms of hospital planning could be turned to Harvard's advantage. He set out to use the ever-present threat emanating from area critics to convince the independent, yet affiliated, teaching hospitals to get together before government agencies intervened more forcefully into their affairs.

As an alternative to government control, Harvard proposed that area institutions set up the Medical Area Service Corporation (MASCO). MASCO would not only centralize planning for the medical area but would also provide just about everything the area institutions needed to keep running, with the exception of direct health care and teaching. MASCO could provide economies of scale in such areas as maintenance, accounting, data collection, bus service and, in short, lower hospital costs.

The key to MASCO was to be a new to-

structures. It was greeted enthusiastically by state energy planners. Champion also had no trouble convincing his former associates at the Boston Redevelopment Authority and Boston Mayor Kevin White that the city stood to benefit from the hundreds of millions of dollars worth of construction that MATEP would facilitate.

MATEP, of course, didn't generate much enthusiasm from Boston Edison, which stood to lose \$3.5 million a year in business, nor from many Mission Hill residents.

By late 1975 Mission Hill opponents of the plant had organized a direct action committee, Residents United to Stop Harvard (RUSH) and had documented that many of Harvard's claims about the value of the plant were unfounded. Using Harvard's own figures they discovered that without an estimated \$4.5 million to \$8.5 million tax break the cost of generating power from MATEP would significantly exceed current costs. Even with the tax break, which would accrue because as a subsidiary of Harvard the plant would not be taxed, it was questionable whether costs would be lower.

Dangerous polluter.

Of even greater importance was RUSH's discovery that MATEP would be a dangerous polluter. Its 315-foot smokestack would spew forth dangerous levels of nitrogen dioxide, sulphur dioxide and various suspended particulates. Daily operation of the plant would also increase carbon monoxide emissions in the area through increased fuel truck traffic to the plant.

Early Mission Hill opposition to MATEP was made more difficult when Harvard and Champion effectively neutralized one of the leading components of past opposition to Harvard expansion, the Roxbury Tenants of Harvard (RTH).

During the early '70s RTH had been able to pressure Harvard into financially assisting RTH in developing replacement housing for that part of Mission Hill where Harvard had expanded. But in late 1974 RTH realized that plans for the housing, which had reached an advanced stage, might have to be junked because of rapidly increasing costs. The only way the development could go forward would be if costs were cut. Harvard suggested that it could subsidize the energy costs of the development—thereby making it financially feasible—if the development were tied to MATEP.

With this move Champion ensured that the one part of Mission Hill that was most tightly organized, that was adjacent to the construction site, and that had most militantly opposed Harvard's expansion in the past, was now, if not an ally, at least neutralized. It took RUSH and other MATEP opponents two years of organizing to in turn neutralize RTH's influence in the issue, and still longer to build an effective city-wide coalition.

Not won yet.

In spite of the recent decision by DEQE, opponents of the power plant face enormous hurdles. Harvard has all along been able to get staged approval for constructing the plant. The site has already been cleared and some \$30 million worth of construction put on it. There is also the chance that Harvard's engineers may be able to devise a temporary plant relying on fewer diesel generators to slide under state emission standards and begin operation.

Harvard also has a lot of political power on its side. The major media, susceptible to Harvard influence, appear to be solidly behind the project. The pro-business political leadership of financially troubled Boston and the work-starved construction unions also back MATEP.

But MATEP opponents aren't ready to give up. Lew Horwitz, a spokesman for NOMATEP, recently told a coalition meeting, "They've got a billion and a half bucks, heavy political clout and a conduit into virtually every medium of communication in the Commonwealth. All we have are the people who want to breathe clean air." NOMATEP is counting on that's being enough.

John Grady is a writer in the Boston area and a member of RUSH.

LABOR

Unionists launch campaign for shorter work week

The AFL-CIO estimates that each hour cut from the work week would mean one million more jobs.



By David Moberg

DEARBORN, MICH.

IF HISTORICAL TRENDS FOLLOWED a smooth and steady course, the standard work week in the U.S. would now be around 35 hours. Instead the average manufacturing worker puts in virtually the same 40-42 hour week today as he or she did right after World War II.

A new group, the All Union Committee to Shorten the Work Week, is determined to revive pressure for fewer working hours and put the historical graph back on track. Over 700 delegates—mainly local union officials, with some district or higher-ranking union officers—from 200 locals in 45 international unions and 23 states kicked off their campaign April 11 in Dearborn, Mich.

The demand for a shorter work week is nothing new: In 1790 a Philadelphia carpenters' strike was the first skirmish in a long battle for a ten-hour day. From the end of the Civil War through the Great Depression the demand for an eight-hour day was the centerpiece of American labor's most dramatic efforts. Since the 1930s virtually every union has had dozens of resolutions on its books calling for immediate achievement of a 30-hour week with no cut in pay. Like a golden idol in the House of Labor, the demand has been regularly worshipped, then just as regularly ignored.

However, the persistent high levels of unemployment in the '70s and the grim prospect for sufficiently rapid economic expansion to provide jobs for new workers entering the market have given new urgency to the demand. Other changes in working class life also support a demand for a shorter work week—more women working, some drift toward men and women sharing housework and child-rearing, longer education, an increasing desire to escape boring jobs and find self-realization in other activities, and the need of more affluent workers for time to enjoy the benefits of their income.

Each hour is a million jobs.

Crude calculations by the AFL-CIO suggest that each hour cut from the standard work week would yield about one million new jobs if the same production is maintained. Nathan Spero, a staff economist for the UE (United Electrical Workers), set the figure at 1,400,000 jobs. Each is probably highly overstated, not taking into account management strategies other than hiring new workers, ranging from traditional speed-up to introduction of new machinery. Nevertheless, cutting the work week would undoubtedly spread work to the unemployed. If weekly pay

were kept at the current level or increased, the economy would also be stimulated by a new burst of consumer demand.

"I call your attention to the banner that quotes Samuel Gompers, who said, 'As long as we have one person seeking work who cannot find it, the hours of work are too long,'" UAW Local 22 president Frank Runnels, who is also president of the short week committee, told the initial conference. "As we meet here today, there are almost ten million people in this country who are underemployed or unemployed. Can anyone deny that the hours of labor are too long?"

The main unions at the conference were those from heavy industries, such as auto, steel, and electrical equipment, that were the heart of the old CIO and have also been most deeply affected by productivity increases after World War II that have been used to increase wages and profits while reducing the number of manufacturing workers.

Runnels cited statistics that production in transportation equipment industries increased 93 percent between 1953 and 1977 while the number of production workers declined by 16 percent. Primary metals production increased 58 percent while employment dropped by 19 percent. Historically 20 to 25 percent of productivity increases have been used to reduce work-time, according to a study by Sar Levitan and Richard Belous, but since World War II only 8 percent of productivity gains have been used for increased leisure.

Although the UAW announced its 1976 contract gain of 12 additional paid days off (effectively seven new days) as the first step in a long march toward a shorter work week, American unions have largely buried the issue of shortened hours. Now there is a modest surge of interest on two fronts—Congress and the collective bargaining table.

Rep. John Conyers (D-MI) introduced an amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 (HR 11784) on March 23 that would (1) reduce the standard workweek to 35 hours in two stages over four years, (2) eliminate compulsory overtime, and (3) raise the premium for overtime work from time-and-a-half to double pay.

With a large fraction of the typical wage bill now committed to benefits, such as insurance and pensions, it is usually cheaper for an employer to require overtime at time-and-a-half rather than hire new workers. Consequently, a study prepared for the Department of Labor by Joyce Nussbaum and Donald Wise concluded that "an increase in the overtime premium to double-time would cause employment to rise by about 2 percent, or 320,000 workers."

A bargaining issue.

UAW president Douglas Fraser had a different idea when he followed Conyers to the conference platform. Although he pledged that "as sure as I stand here, the American worker is going to have a four-day week"—adding that the only question was when—he advised the delegates not to "put all your shorter work week eggs in that legislative basket... The future of short work week movement will not be in the halls of Congress... The fight is going to be won on the picket line..."

Fraser, claiming that "thousands and



thousands of jobs were created" by the paid personal holiday plan in the last contract, implied that the UAW would continue to expand its demand for such days off to reach a 32-35 hour week, which he said later was "achievable within the next decade." It definitely would come only "beyond the next negotiation," he said. "It depends on the economic condition of the industry, what the country's economy is like and what our other [bargaining] priorities are."

Although committee leaders stressed both legislative and bargaining strategies for the shorter week, it appeared that most assumed that the short week would be won bit by bit. Strong unions in highly profitable, oligopoly industries—such as auto and steel—would probably lead the way, followed by weaker unions in poorer, competitive industries. Then legislation would spread the benefits to everyone else. There are currently seven short week bills in state legislatures.

The shorter work week drive could also stimulate a number of related contractual and legal initiatives. UAW delegates emphasized the need for their union to end compulsory overtime and win double-pay for overtime if a shorter week were to yield more jobs.

American unions could also draw on the western European labor experience by promoting work sharing during economic downturns rather than layoffs of low-seniority workers. Unemployment compensation funds could be used, as in Europe, to make up for much or all of the lost pay while on a reduced week.

Short week committee leaders are already anticipating objections that a short week is inflationary and will undermine American international competitiveness. Unemployment itself is expensive, Fraser responded, claiming that each percent of unemployment costs \$19.5 billion in unemployment compensation, social costs, lost taxes and other debits. Furthermore, workers could take their gains in the form of reduced hours just as easily as in the form of higher wages or benefits. Keeping weekly pay the same while cutting the week to 35 hours would require a 14.3 percent increase in wages, Levitan and

Belous calculated. That's easily within the productivity gains and standard wage increases of many unions over a three-year contract.

A vague program.

The conference gave new force to a growing interest in shortening working hours in order to provide full employment, "an issue that can unite the whole labor movement," as committee vice-president and UE district director Frank Rosen said. Besides uniting AFL-CIO unions with independents (UAW, UE, Mineworkers, Teamsters), the committee encourages initiative from low and middle level union leadership, including many old leftists along with younger labor radicals and militant but less political leaders. They are carefully attempting to pressure international leaders to take action while vigorously denying that they intend to disturb existing labor powers. However, in their effort not to offend, the committee has formulated only an extremely vague program that encourages each union to find its own way to a shorter week.

As a result, critics—such as UAW Local 122 president Bob Weisman—complained that "this conference has failed to focus on issues with any clarity." There was also fear that some unions would not really work dramatically and rapidly to shorten work hours but instead label their traditional requests for holidays and vacations "short work week" victories. Likewise there was much skepticism about how much work the conference delegates would do in their home locals, since the major concrete action proposed was collecting a quarter million signatures by Labor Day for the Conyers bill. (In Chicago an April 29 commemoration of the 1886 Haymarket demonstration that was part of the eight-hour day movement will push a "six hour day/no cut in pay.") Others wondered whether workers, now faced with employer attacks on past gains, could mount an offensive of such magnitude at this time.

To that, Frank Rosen replied, "The problem is that the labor movement has been on the defensive too goddamn long."

IN THE WORLD

MIDEAST

Carter looking for a way of breaking Mideast stalemate

WHAT WILL BE THE NEXT STEP IN THE ROUND OF DIPLOMACY set spinning by Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's visit to Israel last November? Norton Mezvinsky, a professor of history at Central Connecticut State College, and the editor of the Mideast Observer, recently returned from a visit to Washington and to the Arab and Israeli capitals. He offers a capsule history of the three-way diplomacy between the U.S., Israel, and Egypt, and surveys the options that the U.S. is now considering for getting the talks going again.

President Sadat decided to go to Jerusalem and to begin his own peace initiative last November after concluding that the American government had no clear-cut policy for resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict or even for reconvening the Geneva conference. Sadat's move surprised Carter. The administration, concerned that this initiative would bear fruit, began to work diligently for American involvement.

The chance for such involvement soon arose.

Yet, the inevitable stalemate developed. Sadat lacked a proper understanding of the Likud government and Israeli Zionism. The Egyptian President expected Prime Minister Begin to compromise his position and to move toward the Egyptian set of principles. Begin, loyal to his beliefs, remained intransigent.

As if to cushion his position, Begin sought Washington support in December while the Egyptian and Israeli negotiating teams were still in Cairo. Before talking again with Sadat, Begin brought Carter his so-called "self-rule proposal" for Palestinians on the West Bank.

In substance this proposal maintained the status quo. It provided for some developing local autonomy for Palestinians within the framework of Israeli military occupation and over-all political control of the West Bank. Under these terms the Israeli Jewish settlements in that territory, clearly illegal under international law, would continue. Begin's use of the terminology "Judea and Samaria" for the West Bank made symbolically clear that the Likud party perspective had not changed. Carter at that point unwittingly and unfortunately gave Begin the cushion he desired in the form of a vote of confidence for the self-rule proposal, when he referred to it as constituting a "step forward" towards peaceful resolution.

Sadat flies to U.S.

Sadat, already incensed over Begin's position in regard to Jewish settlements in all occupied territories, viewed the self-rule proposal as an affront to his own stated principle of Palestinian self-determination. By the end of December, Sadat appeared to be thoroughly disgusted with Begin and the Israeli government; nevertheless, he reluctantly sent a negotiating team, headed by newly-appointed Foreign Minister Kamel, to Jerusalem for talks in January. Those talks ended abruptly after Begin, in delivering a toast at a banquet, embarrassed Kamel and attacked the Egyptian set of principles. Sadat reacted strongly by calling Kamel and the Egyptian team home.

Almost immediately thereafter, Carter instructed Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, who had participated in the meetings, to move between Jerusalem and Cairo to convince Sadat and Begin to re-open

negotiations. When Vance realized that Sadat was far too upset with Begin to respond to such urging, he returned to Washington to advise Carter. They then assigned Assistant Secretary of State Atherton to be a shuttling Ambassador-at-Large.

Atherton shuttled between Cairo and Jerusalem and stopped to talk with various other Arab leaders about how they might help to rehabilitate the negotiating framework of the Sadat initiative. Atherton failed to accomplish his task, but he did succeed in keeping the American government symbolically in focus as the supposedly "honest," even-handed broker seeking peace. The ground, moreover, was prepared for Sadat and then Begin to visit Washington and to talk with Carter.

In the meantime, Middle East "experts" in both the State department and the National Security Council furiously scanned alternative plans and tried to develop for Carter a specific policy approach that would provide an acceptable basis for resuming the Egyptian-Israeli talks.

In the midst of this, Sadat flew to the U.S. to confer with Carter. Both heads of state considered the visit critical. Wishing confidentiality, Carter moved Sadat and his party from Washington to Camp David almost as soon as they arrived. No press coverage of the Sadat-Carter talks was allowed. Two days later, at a public news conference, Sadat revealed little about the specifics of the talks; he rather presented his own case, reiterated his set of principles, and argued in favor of a proposed sale of F-5E planes to Egypt.

Sadat left the U.S. less troubled than when he came. While here, the Egyptian president persuaded himself that Carter viewed his set of principles favorably and would, therefore, exert pressure upon Begin to compromise Israel's positions. Sadat also knew that Carter would fight for the plane sale package to Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Israel.

Difficult talks with Begin.

Begin came next to talk with Carter. The friendly, warm atmosphere of the Sadat-Carter meeting was gone. As noted by almost all commentators, the talks were difficult. Carter let it be known that he disagreed with Begin over Jewish settlements in occupied territories and over interpretation of UN Resolution 242, as it applied to Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank territory.

Begin stated publicly that Carter had shifted his position since their last meeting in December. According to Begin, Carter viewed the Israeli position, including the self-rule proposal, as positive in December but as problematic in March. Although vociferously denied, rumors abounded that the Carter administration wanted Begin replaced. Begin left the U.S.



In Tyre, Lebanon on March 24, Palestinian guerrillas, armed with Soviet-made rocket-propelled grenades and AK-47 machine guns, meet UN peacekeeping troops as they arrive.

even more troubled than when he arrived.

The stalemate in Egyptian-Israeli negotiations continued, worsened by events beginning on March 11. The raid by Palestinian guerrillas, which led to 36 civilians being killed and over 70 wounded, was followed by the Israeli invasion of Southern Lebanon, in which over 700 civilians were killed and many more wounded. The slowness of Israeli troop withdrawal from Southern Lebanon has complicated matters even more.

Breaking the stalemate.

The Carter administration is still attempting to break the stalemate and expand the negotiating process. Sadat and some others seem to believe that the Carter administration has already decided upon a full policy approach, but that is not the case.

The Carter administration continues to believe that the Egyptian and Israeli governments, having already taken the negotiating initiative, should continue it. Carter himself, moreover, unhappy with the apparent intransigence of Begin, feels that he must attempt to move the Israeli Prime Minister to compromise. In regard to the issue of settlements in occupied territories, for example, Carter believes he must attempt to convince Begin to declare against new constructions. In regard to the issue of UN Resolution 242, Carter believes he must attempt to move Begin into a position of being willing to relinquish some of the West Bank as well as some other territory to achieve peace.

Carter is not opposed to some Israeli military control in parts of the West Bank. In fact, Carter is and will almost certainly remain concerned with Israeli security. Yet, he believes that this security can best be maintained by some Israeli flexibility combined with American help.

Besides moving Sadat to reopen negotiations, Carter's major Arab world concerns are to keep Saudis and other oil-rich Arabs pleased on balance with his policy and to keep the Soviets from making inroads.

Pressure and the PLO.

The Carter administration's difficulty in forging a full policy approach arises from

two sources:

First, Carter is not yet willing to assert the pressure upon the Begin government that could bring results. Calling Jewish settlements in occupied territories illegal and hindrances to peace but not adopting any sanctions against Israel for establishing and maintaining settlements only advertises to Begin and his entourage the emptiness of the verbal criticism. Begin will not be moved by this.

For Carter and his administration to attempt to assert real pressure upon the state of Israel would be to court antagonism and direct opposition from the Zionist. From the Carter perspective, asserting real pressure would also disturb American public opinion at a time that Carter is especially worried about this item.

Second, Carter and his administration are still ignoring the political essence of the Palestinian problem. Palestinians need to be involved in the negotiations. The PLO is the self-determined political representative of the Palestinians, and must—like it or not—be the Palestinian participant in the negotiating process.

Carter will not recognize or acknowledge this. Rather, he has recently argued that the PLO has taken itself out of consideration as a participant in peaceful negotiations. Such a position serves no useful purpose and can only antagonize most Palestinians.

Rather than rejecting the PLO as the political representatives of the Palestinians, the Carter administration should be asserting pressure upon the Begin government to talk and to negotiate with the PLO. There will almost certainly be no resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict without resolution of the Palestinian problem. There can this day be no resolution of the Palestinian problem without including the PLO.

Few hopeful signs exist to indicate that the Carter administration will in the near future assert real pressure upon the Begin government or recognize the PLO. Thus, the Carter administration will probably not be able to break the present political stalemate in Arab-Israeli politics, and, unfortunately, the stalemate may develop into something worse.

ITALY

The Red Brigades are ransoming off Italy's hopes for a socialist future



Upper right: Red Brigade members Alberto Franceschini and Renato Curcio in jail. Upper left: Pre-kidnap cartoon of Moro cultivating the "historic compromise." Lower left Ultra-leftists with Stalin pictures. Lower right: Sign at anti-terrorist demonstrations.

By Diana Johnstone

R O M E

WHEN HE WAS SNATCHED by the Red Brigades on March 16, Aldo Moro was more than the President of the Italian Republic. He was its next President. His election to succeed Giovanni Leone late this year was virtually taken for granted. And this forthcoming elevation was to be no mere ceremonial retirement, but on the contrary the consecration of the Christian Democratic party (DC) President's key role in achieving the political blending of opposites—Christian Democrats and Communists—known as the "historic compromise."

As if to underline that the "historic compromise" was the real target, Moro's abduction took place on the very day the Italian parliament was getting ready to approve Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti's new single-party DC government, supported, for the first time, by five parties including the Italian Communist party (PCI). The new formula, which kept the PCI out of government while formally admitting it to political consultations, was attributed to Moro and bore the stamp of the masterful ambiguity he has deployed to keep his own divided party together and in power while gradually drawing the PCI into sharing political responsibility with the tacit promise that this burden of responsibility will serve as its

"initiation dues" into the actual sharing of power.

A "people's trial."

Moro (whose ineffable style was parodied by actor Gian Maria Volonte in Elio Petri's satirical film *Todo Modo*, which prophetically ended in a bloody massacre by mysterious terrorists) was known for such verbal miracles of loaves and fishes as "converging parallels" to describe the DC's relationship with the left. The DC's right wing could take from such a sibylline expression the comfort that parallels do not converge, except at infinity, which is a long way away, while the left could look hopefully to the horizon. But Moro's accomplishments as architect of compromise surely went beyond mere verbal agility.

To carry with him such a band of political dealers, Moro, while himself not implicated in the many scandals that have sullied Christian Democratic politicians, must have known a lot about their precise habits and interests. It was this knowledge, as well as the man himself, that the Red Brigades evidently wanted to capture and use in the "people's trial" they subjected him to, with the declared aim of decisively disgracing the DC and the Italian state.

The abduction threw Italian leaders into consternation. Christian Democrat Benigno Zaccagnini wept, Pope Paul had to be given heart tonic injections, aged Socialist Pietro Nenni fainted, old Republican Ugo La Malfa thundered for restor-

ation of the death penalty and the Communists called the workers into the piazzas to demonstrate against terrorism. In the "extra-parliamentary" left, the consternation was heightened by premonitions of being in the target area for the repression that was bound to be spurred by the Red Brigades' exploits.

Suspicion of foreign involvement.

Fear of the Red Brigades was also fear of the unknown. Who were they? Everyone agreed that Renato Curcio and other founders or "historic leaders" of the organization, currently caged and on trial in Turin, had long since been replaced by a "new generation" of *brigatisti*, more ruthless and efficient than their predecessors. Ignorance of their identity and wonder at their competence immediately fed a spate of the conspiracy theories that flourish so readily on Italian soil. Oddly enough, Italians, calling up their no doubt unfounded self-image as helter-skelter romantics, conjectured that mere Italians were incapable of a meticulously perfected operation worthy of Germans. Suspicion turned to the secret services of foreign powers—all of them.

Democrazia Proletaria, the small foothold in parliament of the "extra-parliamentary" left, immediately issued a statement "firmly condemning the abduction of Aldo Moro and the assassination of his escorts. The object of this terrorist action," DP added, "is to create a state of profound tension and disorientation.... The concrete political result is to hasten the authoritarian restoration of the regime, of the bourgeoisie, to favor the introduction of new freedom-destroying and repressive measures, to consolidate the power of the DC which...can claim to be victim of a terrorism it actually contributed to fostering as a product of its conception of society and the state and by protecting the subversive activities of foreign and domestic secret services and of fascists.... It is necessary to examine seriously the hypothesis of links...with the secret services of major foreign powers that have an interest in spreading chaos in our country."

Lotta Continua went farther and in a headline accused the Soviet Union of being behind the Red Brigades. The newspaper expressed "revulsion" at Red Brigade actions and said that "suspicions are being confirmed of a violent destabilizing effort by the great powers in Mediterranean Europe."

Old Stalinists.

In the absence of any real evidence, speculation as to foreign involvement centered on hypothetical motivations. Former Socialist party secretary Giacomo Mancini said "deductions" could be made from such "political facts" as these: "The United States sent an open injunction to the DC not to make a majority with the PCI. But the DC made one. Not by chance, it was Moro that made it."

Mancini added that he thought the Lockheed scandal had been deliberately used by the U.S. as a "warning" against the DC, which had stopped being obedient. "That ability to resist strong international pressures, which Moro personified, is important," he stressed. Mancini said he believed President Carter when he ruled out interference, but added that "the American secret services have many heads."

Suspicion of using the Red Brigades to sabotage Eurcommunism fell not only on the CIA and the KGB, but also on the Germans, both East and West, as well as the Czechoslovakian regime, long rumored to be arming terrorists to block the progress of the PCI, which it fears would give effective backing to its own dissidents. Libya is another oft-mentioned suspect.

Although the specter of so much foreign

meddling is scarcely comforting, the haste to attribute Red Brigade operations to foreign agents sounded a little like wishful thinking. It was a way of avoiding the even more alarming fact that the Red Brigades, whatever their possible uses of or by foreign powers, are indeed Italian with a genuine, if small, base in Italian society.

Observers' estimates of the number of Red Brigade sympathizers throughout Italy range up to 30,000. Some are factory workers, especially Italy's special brand of "old Stalinists" who hark back to the clear-cut armed class struggle of World War II Partisans, which they fancy was betrayed by the PCI leadership. Red Brigade leaflets and slogans have shown up regularly in FIAT and other big factories. This is obviously a source of major concern to Communist labor union leaders, who are going all-out to isolate and fight such tendencies.

Upon news of Moro's kidnapping, the parties and unions, echoed by the far left groups, called the workers into the piazzas to demonstrate against terrorism. The turnout gave rise to a triumphalism that soon faded. Journalists began to note that the crowd at San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome, first reported by the entire press as 200,000 strong, probably numbered 40,000 at the most, and that unanimity was an illusion. Italy remains profoundly divided, although not along the simple "terrorism versus anti-terrorism" lines implied in the first shocked reactions of the parties and the press.

Red Brigades enter government?

In the working class, more sympathy was expressed for the five escorts shot down by the Red Brigades than for Moro himself. As Italian comedy amply illustrates, Italians tend to find things to laugh at even in the grimmest circumstances. It was jokingly suggested that with his talents, Moro would probably manage to bring the Red Brigades into the next Christian Democratic government. *La Stampa's* proposal to forthwith elect Moro President got a big laugh.

Jokes and conspiracy theories go hand in hand: was the liberal Turin daily infiltrated by Red Brigade agents trying to up the ante by elevating their hostage to the Presidency, or were its editors displaying unseemly haste in using the crisis to push for the strong presidency favored by the Agnelli family? Under the proposal, quickly rejected by all political leaders except *La Malfa*, DC warhorse Amintore Fanfani would actually have taken over the presidency in Moro's absence.

Upon publication of the photograph of Moro as prisoner of the Red Brigades, Leonard Sciascia, author of the novel *Todo Modo*, said he felt dismayed to see things he had imagined "come true." Sciascia said it was one thing to judge a party and a ruling class in a literary work, and quite another to see the image of "a man subjected to violence by other men."

By taking it on themselves to eliminate that distinction, so essential to free expression, the terrorists have plunged a number of intellectuals such as Sciascia into a mood of dark apprehension.

Imperialist multinational state.

From the outset, political leaders of all parties unanimously rejected any deals with the Red Brigades. Release of the letter written by the imprisoned Christian Democratic party chairman to Interior Minister Francesco Cossiga was evidently another attempt to drive a wedge between the apparently united parties. Moro argued that his release should be negotiated through an exchange, noting that he was undergoing a trial "having the knowledge and sensibility that derive from long experience, with the risk of being called on or driven to speak in a way that could be unpleasant or dangerous." The veiled but clear warning was that un-

less rescued, Moro could be led to say things embarrassing not only to himself but much more to the Christian Democratic party and state.

At this point, some Christian Democrats were reportedly wavering, while the PCI took the lead in demanding statesmanlike firmness against terrorist blackmail. It was questionable how long the precarious DC-PCI alliance could withstand such strains, especially with the great conciliator out of the way. And after his letter to Cossiga, it was generally conceded that Moro was finished politically, whatever his personal fate. The all-too-human weakness displayed may have aroused compassion for the man, but ruined his charisma as a leader.

putting forth the widely accepted analysis of the current crisis of world capitalism in terms that justify withdrawal from mass movements, judged to be impossibly blocked. The only course currently left open to the mass movement, they claim, is armed struggle.

At the same time, the Red Brigades refrain from the criticism of the Soviet bloc current in the new left, apparently so as not to alienate the "old Stalinists," whom they appeal to with their discourse on "proletarian internationalism."

Danger of repression.

To most people on the left, firmly convinced that the armed revolutionary struggle called for by the Red Brigades is

The Red Brigades, by "attacking the heart" of this ramshackle state, which they extravagantly label "fascist," may help create a genuine repressive police state.

About the same time, the Red Brigades released their "Communique number 2" in Turin, Rome, Milan and Genoa. It accused Moro of being the prime mover in the "restructuration of the SIM"—that is, of the Imperialist State of the Multinationals. It said he was being interrogated to clarify the DC's "imperialist and anti-proletarian policies," to specify in detail "the international structures and national branches of the imperialist counter-revolution," to unveil the political, economic and military personnel carrying out the multinationals' projects, and finally to submit Aldo Moro's personal responsibilities in all this to "proletarian justice."

"Communist party of combat."

The communique also referred to the role of NATO in guiding "the armed counter-revolution in the various European SIM's" and to the European Economic Community's joint police operations as the new "terrorist international." After hailing "proletarian internationalism" between various "fighting communist organizations" in Europe, and subscribing to "the Maoist principle of counting on one's own forces," it called for construction of the "Communist Party of Combat."

The document was written in a stilted, aggressive style that some could interpret as the mark of a fabricated provocation and others as the sign of madness. As for content, the most striking feature was the reference to restructuration of the state to suit the multinationals, a central factor in the analysis developed recently by the new left and the "movement." It particularly echoed the most pessimistic analysis of those in the movement who see the restructuration process as a "Germanization" leaving no space for legal political opposition to class society. Many such people have been withdrawing from political militancy that no longer seems able to get anywhere and concentrating instead on their personal lives.

According to some observers, one category of Red Brigade sympathizers, or potential sympathizers, is drawn from veterans of post-1968 struggles who have dropped out of politics in discouragement, but who admire the Red Brigades for "doing something."

"The growth of the Red Brigades," a Roman journalist explained, "marks a certain *delegation* of politics to an elite." In their documents, he added, the Red Brigades were making a shrewd effort to win support from new left drop-outs by

neither possible nor desirable, the danger of the Red Brigades' discourse is less that it will win over large numbers of followers than that it will expose to repression the entire left, where similar arguments are voiced (with the crucial exception of the call for armed struggle).

Such apprehension is only increased by the demonstrated incompetence of the Italian police, who provided a comic side-show to the Moro kidnapping. Following the example of the Germans after the Schleyer kidnapping, Italian authorities released photographs of 20 suspects to be hunted down. Two of them turned out to be in prison, one was a police spy, another was journalist living and working in France for over three years, and two others were the same man, with and without mustache.

One dangerous consequence of such blundering was to make it that much easier for the government to demand—and get—parliamentary approval for still more exceptional measures giving the police more and more power in the exercise of their inefficiency.

Another, signaled by *Il Manifesto*, may be to draw the West German police further into Italian affairs. The "internationalism" claimed by the Red Brigades provides a good pretext for the Germans to insist that their own security requires fighting Italian terrorism with the efficiency that only they can provide.

Italian secret services have recently been in complete upheaval as a result of revelations of their complicity in various fascist plots, and the new Office for General Investigation and Special Operations (UCIGOS) is not yet totally operational. Thus the Italian government reportedly has no agents infiltrated into the Red Brigades and is "completely deaf and blind" about them, whereas the Red Brigades have quite obviously infiltrated the Ministry of Justice and the police. On the other hand, it is generally taken for granted that American and West German secret services have surely infiltrated an organization that has been advocating violence for over eight years, and what could be more natural than for the Christian Democratic government to turn to its better-informed allies for help?

PCI woos police.

The most obvious immediate consequence is for the police, under pressure to show they are trying, to start making arrests at random. Not quite at random, of course—the fishing expeditions are sent to the left. Thus at the beginning of April, po-

lice backed by helicopters and even naval units carried out raids directed against leftist militants. Virtually the whole press called the raids blind and useless. The PCI organ *Unita* said that in most of the cases, the searches and arrests (46 people arrested in Rome out of 130 taken in for questioning) amounted to "a real provocation which certainly does not help to combat subversion."

The PCI, however, has gone along with the DC-sponsored exceptional measures, while arguing for a larger and better organized police force as the necessary key to proper law enforcement. The PCI has been wooing policemen for years, notably by advocating a policeman's union that would both protect their interests as employees and give them a sense of identification with the working class. But this campaign still seems some distance from its goal.

The PCI has responded to the crisis by coming to the fore as the bulwark of a properly run state. Yet the crisis has been demonstrating, again, that Italy has no properly run state. The PCI, on the edge of the government, is still in no real position to create one, and its efforts to do so could backfire in unpredictable ways. It might seem at first glance that the DC now needs the PCI more than ever to hold things together. But in a country where the question, "Who profits from crime?" is always central to the solution of every mystery, the PCI's very success in turning the crisis caused by the Red Brigades to its own advantage could arouse politically dangerous suspicions.

"Social laboratory."

In recent years, the exercise of political freedom developed to such an extent in Italy that it could reasonably be called the "freest country in the world." The weakness of the central state no doubt favored this development of freedom. The Red Brigades, by "attacking the heart" of this ramshackle state, which they extravagantly label "fascist," threaten precisely to provoke the creation of the worst sort of state, a repressive police state. That the PCI might finally enter the government through its collaboration in this creation only makes the prospect more distressing to many people on the left.

For the left, the issue is not really the Red Brigades' analysis of multinational capitalism, since their actions do not flow logically from that analysis. The real point is that people do not want or believe in "the revolution" the Red Brigades claim they are trying to trigger, a revolution of "enemies of the state" ready, if they succeeded (which seems a preposterous hypothesis), to set up an even more oppressive state of their own.

The hope of revolution lies, rather, in the transformations that might eventually emerge from that extraordinary "social laboratory" that has flourished in Italy in recent years, and which both the Red Brigades' violence and the growing repression of the state tend to shut down.

That is why the far left, and many leading intellectuals, have taken up the difficult slogan: "Against the Red Brigades, and against *that* state." In an appeal to "democratic forces" issued on April 3, over 70 Italian intellectuals expressed their determination to oppose "the attempt to neutralize all political dialectic by giving the impression that the only choice is between terrorist provocation and state authoritarianism." The statement warned that "the democratic spaces of counter-power gained by the masses of people risk being closed in the terrorism-repression cycle."

The survival of those "free spaces" and of the Italian "laboratory" of social and political change is of vital interest to all who hope for the development of a new democratic socialism.

WARSAW

AN INTERVIEW WITH A SURVIVOR



Above: Jews build the ghetto wall, Oct. 1940. Right: Jewish policeman in the Warsaw ghetto.



By Norman Finkelstein

April 17 marks the 35th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. The Jews of the Warsaw Ghetto were the first civilians in all Occupied Europe to carry out a major revolt against the German military power, thereby destroying the myth of Nazi omnipotence.

In the interview that follows, Maryla Husyt, who was born and educated in Warsaw and is among the last living survivors of the uprising, attempts to set the much distorted historical record of this event straight, first, by reaffirming the progressive, humanist vision of all those who fought and died in the Resistance, and secondly, by dissociating this heroic struggle from the present-day epigones who, in the name of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, have committed—and continue to commit—acts that are, in fact, a complete betrayal of its real legacy.

Recently, Husyt appeared before the Immigration and Naturalization Office as a witness in a Nazi deportation trial.

The interview was done by her son.

When and how was the Ghetto formed?

Between 1939 and 1943. It was a gradual process. We didn't realize at the beginning what was happening. But later it became more and more obvious. Right after the war with Russia began the Germans became determined to exterminate us. The situation was not completely intolerable while the Germans had more or less bearable relations with Russia, because Russia was philo-Semitic and, as a matter of fact, it was Russia that saved practically all those Jews that did survive the Holocaust. Even though the Nazis were anti-Semitic, they didn't dare antagonize the Russians. Things began to drastically deteriorate exactly on the day war broke out with Russia.

What did the Germans do?

They started to send the Jews to labor camps and many of them didn't come back. At about the same time they started to build the gas chambers. As to how the Ghetto itself was formed, it is well known. The Germans simply collected all the Jews into a certain section previously in-

habited mostly by Jews and, at a later stage, they removed the few Gentiles that lived there. The final stage was when they built a thick wall around this section. (The wall was moved in, over time, to enclose us in a smaller and smaller space.) Naturally, it wasn't so simple but I am trying to be brief. Everyone knows it took time, planning.

What were living conditions like inside the Ghetto?

The living conditions were, well, like in a ghetto. And what is a ghetto, you know. The difference was only that we were forcibly enclosed and that there was no production (aside from the factories organized by the Germans to supply goods for the army). There was very little food, no way to earn a living, no means to sustain oneself, simply gradual death by starvation. And later, when Hitler thought that we weren't dying fast enough, he decided to speed up the process by putting us in gas chambers and, in this way, to rid all Europe of the Jews.

How was the Ghetto governed?

At the top were naturally the Germans. Their right hands were the *Judenrat*. The *Judenrat* was composed of some of the so-called "leaders" of the Jewish community in Warsaw who were recruited by the Germans. Their responsibility was to see that the orders of the Germans were carried out.

Do you have any personal thoughts about the members of the *Judenrat*?

At the beginning they were clearly out to save their own skins, but I think that they also thought they could be of some help to the rest of us. But it soon became obvious that they were being used and, well, no honest person would put him or herself in that position. By the end, you had to be the scum of the earth, the lowest, the dirtiest to belong. And, as a matter of fact, they were executed before everyone's eyes in the Ghetto by the Jewish Fighting Organization. No one made a move in their defense. Not even the Germans, who considered them scum too.

Did anyone escape or buy his or her way out?

Yes, during the first stages you could do it, because money was still inside. The intelligentsia, the upper-class, the professionals were more informed, so they tried to escape and some succeeded. The very poor were the first to be threatened by starvation, were the first victims of the extermination, so they, too, tried to escape—to Russia. The middle-class was trapped. It was the least informed and, like the middle class in general, the most hopeful. When it became obvious that we were doomed, the middle class was still afraid to go to Russia. They were afraid of persecution because communism was portrayed in Poland, well, as Hitler was to the Jews, Russia was supposedly to the middle class. The middle class was—or thought it was—sandwiched between death in Russia and death on the spot, so it decided to remain.

What happened to your family?

My parents and my brother were taken to Treblinka [an extermination camp]. Whether they survived the trip or not... what's the difference, they are not here. One of my sisters died in the train right before my eyes as we were being taken from the Ghetto to the concentration camp. My other sister died earlier. She thought that the Germans wouldn't pick her out for the extermination during what was called the "selection." But naturally she was grabbed and taken away. And I don't want to talk anymore about my family because it drives me crazy.

Can you tell us about the Resistance?

The Resistance was formed after a few persons first taken to Treblinka somehow managed to hide themselves and escape. (I still have no idea how they did it.) They came back to Warsaw and started to walk from house to house and tell us that if we were discovered during an "action" by the police or were for any reason taken

into custody, we would be sent to a death camp; that we weren't being "resettled" as the Germans had told us; that there was nothing outside the Ghetto for us but a trip to Treblinka where we would be gassed, put to death.

Little by little, we started to believe. I mean the young people. The old just couldn't believe and remained passive. But the young people decided that something had to be done. They were mostly members of the labor-Zionist and leftist groups. Many were students. Later they formed the Jewish Fighting Organization. I was not aware of the Fighting Organization even though I lived across the street from their main headquarters until my younger sister was recruited by them. She came and told me that Jews in the Ghetto had formed an organization, that they had decided to fight back and not give themselves up alive to the Germans.

There were also the porters, who were the strong men in Warsaw. [Porters were employed to transport goods.] I happened to be in one of their bunkers during an "action" and then I found out that they too had organized and had resolved not to give up without a fight. On Jan. 3, 1943, the Germans encircled the Ghetto. At that time, as I just said, I was in the porters' bunker and I saw two young men who I had known from my student days leave the bunker. They didn't say where they were going but towards the evening one came back and whispered that the other had been killed. After the "action" I left the bunker and met my university friend. She told me that she saw groups of men and women shoot at the Germans who were trying to enter the Ghetto. That the Germans had run out, but not before leaving two or three behind dead. My friend then said, "Maryla, there are arms in the Ghetto and there are people who have decided to fight."

What I have just described is the formal resistance. There were reprisals earlier against the Germans in the Ghetto. There were also sporadic acts of reprisal against the Polish who tried to enter the Ghetto to intimidate and attack us.

Can you tell us a little more about the Jewish Fighting Organization?

The members of the Fighting Organization were, as I said, mostly young, in their early twenties. They belonged to a variety of political parties before the war, ranging ideologically from the center to the left. The Jabotinski party and its youth arm, the Betar (known collectively as the "Zionist Revisionists"), both of which tried to join the Resistance, were excluded. A formal proclamation issued by the leaders of the Resistance stated that they would have nothing to do with the Jabotinski party and the Betar.

The Jabotinski party, you see, was associated with fascism and fascism in the Warsaw Ghetto was taboo for obvious reasons. Even in 1937, when we organized a rally in the dormitories of Warsaw University to protest the Polish government's harassment of the Jewish students, the leaders of the Jabotinski party were barred from addressing the crowd. The Jabotinski party was considered a fascist, right-wing party, and was repudiated by the coalition.

The Jabotinski party is the party to which Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin claims allegiance, isn't it?

That's what he says and that's what I know. This is it. And if you were to read about Zionism in Poland, you would find that even after the war Begin's party made no secret of the fact that it was a right-wing party. I don't know what they say now, but that's what they said then.

Did you formally join the Resistance?

I didn't join formally. I had my own problems. I was more preoccupied with the constant hunger. And when you are hungry you think little about parties, about ideology... The idea of a Jewish organization was already conceived of in the first months after Hitler entered Poland because already at that time we saw that the Jews were being denied their rights. The young Jews formed what were called "corners" to study and teach.

The Zionists were very much interested

in convincing the Warsaw Jewish middle class that the only salvation for the Jews was Israel. They had many exchanges with the Bund, the Communists and the Socialists who insisted that since they were born on Polish soil they couldn't see why they should leave and go somewhere else. They claimed that they had the same rights to the Polish soil as the Catholic Poles.

When did the "Uprising" begin?

The beginning was, as I said, on Jan. 3, 1943. This was the first time that a Jewish defense organization appeared on the street with arms and attacked the Germans. What is known as the "Uprising" began on the evening of April 17. At that time I was at my uncle's home for Passover. At night, we received word that the Polish police had surrounded the Ghetto and we were told to go to our bunkers. April 18 we already knew that something was brewing, that it was nearing the end. That night we heard shots and knew that the battle had begun.

The armed exchange lasted between three days and a week. Then it tapered off and the Germans began systematically to burn down the Ghetto. I was taken out of the Ghetto on May 13. I thought at the time that we were the last bunker to be emptied but I read subsequently that there was some scattered resistance afterwards.

What part did you play in the "Uprising?"

Everybody did what he or she could. Before the "Uprising" started, I joined a group that worked outside the Ghetto. We unloaded coal at the train stations. There we exchanged money for arms and smuggled them back into the Ghetto. We also smuggled bread in. Naturally, a few times on the way back to the Ghetto we were surrounded by the Germans and they would search us. If you were lucky, you returned. If the Germans found arms or even bread on you, you were shot on the spot.

Look, I could talk about this for the next decade, the next hundred years. My bunker became the bunker of the leadership of the Resistance. I met the leaders of the "Uprising." Jews suspected of being traitors, I learned later, had been tortured and forced to reveal where the bunkers were hidden. There were executions of these suspected traitors. It was a horrible situation. Whoever had a gun could kill, and be killed without a trial. There were horrible things. You just cannot imagine and I cannot talk about it.

After May 13 you were taken to the concentration camp?

Yes.

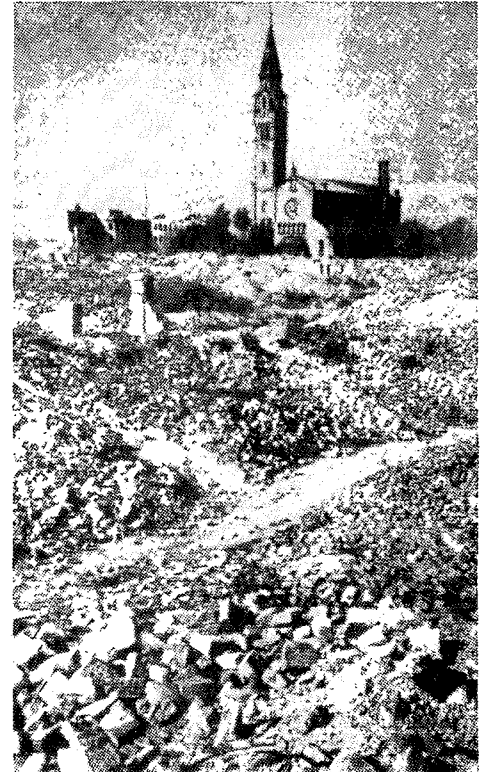
What, in your opinion, is the significance of the Resistance and the "Uprising?"

To me, it was one of the most glorious, most honorable chapters in Jewish history. And one of the most tragic. But it was a bright star, because the martyrdom and the heroism were really indescribable. I only regret that the efforts and the heroism appear to have been in vain. What was so beautiful, in my personal opinion, has been betrayed. The real history of the Ghetto has not been erased but rather distorted by the survivors of the world Jewry.

For example, little is said about Mordechai Anielewicz. And not surprisingly so, because Anielewicz's dream and the dream of the young people who fought so bravely and so heroically was of a Jewish state that would, after the war, set an example for a new humanity, a humanity which had a new concept of dignity. I am sure that Anielewicz would never have agreed to harm the Arabs.

On the contrary, our dream in the Warsaw Ghetto was that after the Second World War a new humanity would be born, among which brotherhood would prevail, and that we Jews would set an example. The idea of resettling Arabs or using firearms against them would have been loathsome. We thought we would give birth to a nation that would set an example to the whole world of being kind to your neighbor.

And there wouldn't be any racism. Racism was abhorred and absolutely re-



Above: Last Jews are marched from the ghetto as the buildings burn.

Lower left: Mordechai Anielewicz, commander of the uprising.

Lower right: The ghetto in ruins with only a Christian church left standing.

pudiated in the Ghetto. And, in the Ghetto we came to the conclusion that money couldn't save us from anything. A state that was based on firearms, believe me, was never anticipated. The dream of the youth of the Warsaw Ghetto was of a beautiful world where love and understanding and especially love your neighbor would prevail.

Then you wouldn't agree with the leaders of Israel who claim the Uprising as their legacy and their mandate?

I don't think the leaders of Israel speak for their people. I would like to hear from the young people in Israel but they never speak up. Not even my friends who emigrated to Israel after the war and who were members of the Resistance speak up. Why are they silent?

But I am certain that the Israeli young people who have been dragged into so many wars—even the ones who once believed in it—see now the futility of trying to live with their neighbors with guns on their backs. But still I am not sure if all the information is getting through to the Israeli people.

In any case, whatever my approach to Israel is, I want to say that my opinion of the Holocaust and all the events in Europe during the War is identical with that of Joel Braun, the Hungarian Jew who was sent out by Eichmann to make a deal with the English and Jewish leaders in Israel concerning the salvation of the Jews in Hungary. He was a quite prominent witness during the Eichmann proceedings. I feel that he said the truth, although maybe not the whole truth.

Can you summarize his testimony for us?

He said that more Jews could have been saved from the Holocaust had the Jewish Agency and the Jewish leaders abroad, and the English and Americans wanted to. It wouldn't have been such a total, an absolutely total, destruction. A handful of people survived the concentration camps, and others were saved

by the Russians. If there were any other large groups of Jews who were saved, let me see them. All I have seen were saved by the Russians.

Even in the case of Anne Frank's family and all the people she describes in her book, only her father was saved. One person. Of course, if four or five or 40 or 50 Dutch or French Jews were saved, it is meaningless. And, by the way, almost all the Jews who emigrated to Israel after 1945 or who came to the United States did not see the concentration camps or the Nazi persecution. They were saved in Russia. This I know. If someone sees it differently, let him or her stand up and challenge me.

One last question. The Israeli leaders have betrayed the hopes and aspirations of the Resistance. But what about the American Jewish leaders. Do you think that they are genuinely acting in the name of those that fought and died in the Ghetto?

There's the problem. There is a misunderstanding about the word "leader." As I understand it, a leader is one who stands in the front and has followers. But the so-called American Jewish leaders are fast-talkers who sit on their soft chairs. They are politicians in the worst sense of the word. They don't say what they think but think what to say. What are called the Jewish leaders are heads of organizations in which lots of money is close by and the truth is far away. I don't consider them spokespersons.

Do you have any last thoughts you would like to leave us with?

I just cannot believe that the people who were raised in Israel and confront the Arab masses face to face each day have developed such attitudes toward a mass of people who never had anything to do with our misery. And even if they did commit some wrongs against us, we in the Warsaw Ghetto would still have stretched out our arms, given up a little bit and said live and let live.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Orange light for neutron bomb

President Carter's shifting position on the neutron bomb reflects the fierce debate within senior policy-making circles in the U.S. and in Western Europe. It is over the capitalist states' global strategy in relation to Soviet power and revolutionary movements.

The strains of detente, Eurocommunism, OPEC, and revolutionary successes in parts of Asia and Africa, have intensified western leaders' anxieties about western unity and the staying power of their social order. The almost hysterical tone of the attacks on Carter for hesitations about the neutron bomb indicate that something deeper is involved than differences over a particular weapon. Sharp though it was, the B-1 debate remained positively genteel by comparison. The present debate touches, rather, upon the search for an equivalent—however ghastly and immoral—for the cold war unity of yesteryear.

The pro-neutron bombers, who apparently include some of Carter's top civilian foreign policy advisers, are promoting the weapon as a multiple problem-solver. In countering superior Warsaw pact ground forces it would, they think, restore NATO military and political cohesion and help head off growing western European socialist initiatives toward dissolving the east-west division of Europe. In offering a nuclear terror weapon that is "labor-intensive" and "capital-saving" in destructive power, it would intimidate revolutionary movements in the developing world and deter the Soviet Union from undertaking an effective response in aid of such movements. (See Daniel Ellsberg's analysis, *ITT*, Mar. 1.)

The neutron bomb, in this view, symbolizes recovery of western capitalist unity and global strategic supremacy.

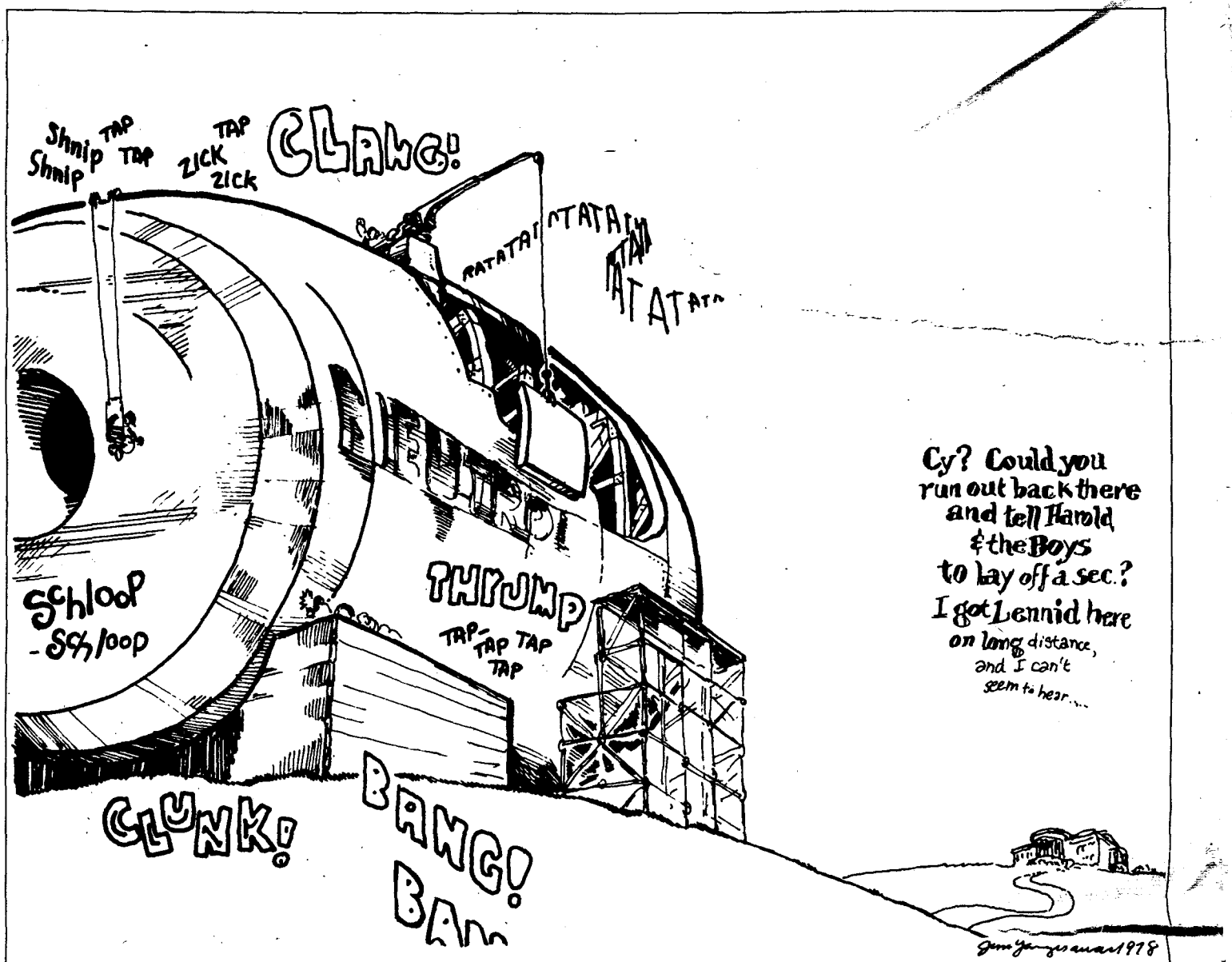
Those in policy-making circles resisting or at least not ardently embracing the Higher Radiation point out that no single weapon—as the history of the battleship, air power, and atomic bomb show—can assure strategic supremacy. Pentagon officials advise that western European military security would be little affected by not deploying the neutron weapon, as existing laser-guided "smart" bombs and guided missiles are effective weapons against tank and other ground forces. (In fact, in leaving nuclear-armed tanks and artillery intact, and in not instantly killing the soldiers, the neutron weapon is less effective than the other "conventional" weapons.)

Others among the unpersuaded argue that before deploying it, the bomb should be used as a "bargaining chip" with the Russians. They also argue that the weapon would discredit the U.S. in the eyes of the people of developing countries who anticipate its use against them. And they point out that its deployment would lead only to further escalation of the nuclear arms race and make use of nuclear weapons more likely even in "small" wars.

But cogent as their arguments may be, the doubters are at a disadvantage in the debate because they lack the symbolic force—however utterly delusory—of their opponents' pleadings.

President Carter at first gave the green light to the neutron bomb when Congress last summer appropriated \$14 million, "thanks to the efforts of the late Sen. Hubert Humphrey and other influential liberals" (*Newsweek*, April 17). Reports of Carter's switching to a red light were apparently erroneous—possibly leaked as "disinformation" by pro-bombers to preempt counterpressures on the President. If he has switched at all, it is to orange.

Western European governments, faced with popular hostility and powerful socialist and left opposition to the weapon, prefer to avoid the political risk of overt-



ly "asking" for its deployment in their own countries. They want President Carter to make the decision for them and absorb all the risk.

Even should he do so, there is no guarantee that those governments would ultimately consent to deployment. Bonn has gone no further in public than to state that Germany would deploy the weapon if NATO approved it and another western European government would also deploy it. That still leaves Carter out on a limb and with the prospect of the weapon standing exposed as directed primarily against peoples of the developing countries. It leaves him on the verge of appearing to violate—on his own initiative rather than in an "unavoidable" response to circumstances—his repeated pledges to reverse the nuclear arms race.

It also leaves him looking indecisive in providing American leadership toward putting the humpty-dumpty of western unity back together again. It is in this respect that Carter is particularly vulnerable to the powerful and highly orchestrated pressures of the pro-bombers.

The neutron bomb is no real deterrent to conventional or nuclear attack in Europe; nor is the Soviet attack it supposedly would deter any more a plausible danger now than it was in the past since the end of World War II. But it is a deterrent to slowing down, no less ending, the nuclear arms race, to dissolving the division of Europe into hostile blocs, and to the U.S. refraining from intervening against revolutions in other countries.

The neutron bomb should be recognized for what it is: It is part of a larger

global imperial strategy. As a weapon it is no less a species of biological warfare than poison gas or germs (see analysis by Peter Bloch, U. of Pa. associate professor of radiological science, *ITT*, Oct. 5, 1977). Like gas and germ warfare, it should be outlawed by international convention. As a strategic gambit or symbol it is no more a guarantee of peace, security, or western unity than "massive deterrence" or the old cold war anti-communism.

Whether Carter will turn from orange to red or green light, will depend on the force of popular opposition to the neutron bomb in the U.S. as well as in Europe and elsewhere. That popular force will have to be much greater than it now is in the U.S. if the Strangeloves of the Higher Radiation are not to prevail. ■

Dems ape Nixon on press freedom

A favorite defense of former President Nixon's abuses of power is that they were not peculiar to him: Democratic administrations had played dirty too. Now, two Democrats close to President Carter seem intent to prove this Nixon defense true, if not about past Democrats then about those coming after Nixon.

In tones reminiscent of the Nixon administration, former budget chief Bert Lance and Attorney General Griffin Bell attacked the press at the American Society of Newspaper Editors convention the day after President Carter addressed it on the inflation issue.

Complaining that "muckrakers" outnumbered "muckmakers," Lance warned that newspapers face censorship if they persist in printing controversial investigative reporting such as that which preceded his resignation. He said that "irresponsible journalism is just as repugnant as censorship," and would lead to the press losing "one of its most cherished privileges, the right to monitor itself."

Bell was less direct but his threat against the press for printing "false or inaccurate information" was no less ominous for being veiled—especially in light of growing calls for press censorship by corporate executives and policy-making mandarins.

As guaranteed by the First Amendment, freedom of the press means that government officials as citizens have the right to criticize anything they like, including the press. It means that accurate information is best assured by free and open debate and publication unhindered by government intervention. It means that the most dangerous threat to democracy is government presumption to determine what is "accurate" or "responsible" utterance. It means that freedom from press censorship is not a mere privilege but an inviolable right.

And it means that "irresponsible journalism" cannot be regarded as "just as repugnant" as press censorship. To accept that seemingly "balanced" view is to take a long step toward the destruc-

tion of freedom of speech.

These propositions are as valid for a socialist as for a capitalist society. Democracy is in relatively better shape when the "muckrakers" outnumber and inconvenience the "muckmakers." In asserting an excess of "muckrakers" Lance's own accuracy is open to question but he is free to submit his views to the public.

Lance is known for believing in minimal government intervention when it comes to the economy. But when it comes to the "marketplace of ideas"—matters of conscience—he and other Democrats, like their Republican counterparts, are all for Big Government paternalism.

We have our quarrels with the way the dominant press, in our view, irresponsibly and inaccurately conveys much of the news. But we say to the Nixons and the Lances and the Bells: The people exercising freedom of speech, not government officials, must be the arbiter of what is true or false, responsible or irresponsible, if democracy is to prevail. ■

Jack Clark

A Philadelphia organization is leading the movement for jobs

Before the great upsurge of the CIO, the great accomplishment of the 1930s left—both Socialist and Communist—was the organizing of the unemployed. Whether they called them unemployed councils or workers' alliances, the organizers of these movements faced momentous obstacles. Even in the catastrophe of the Great Depression, the myth hung on that people were out of work and poor and hungry because the poor themselves were less than virtuous, not because the social system was chaotic and anti-social.

Then as now, the unemployed were dispersed and demoralized. Our socialist predecessors overcame all that, however, and created large movements in many cities. They forced condescending welfare officials to treat recipients with a modicum of respect; their mobilizations forced cities and states to liberalize requirements for receiving home relief and other income supports. The organizations of unemployed provided a training ground for radicals who went on to become CIO militants, and in some places the organized unemployed provided direct support to the industrial union organizing committees. Militant direct action in working class neighborhoods saved thousands of the unemployed from evictions. (In the film *Union Maids*, Kate reminisces about facing down gun-wielding police on the door step of an unemployed Chicago family; she was at the time an organizer for the Communist unemployed council.)

The success of the unemployed organizations in the first half of the '30s helped set the political tone of the decade. In our own time, the relative quiescence of the unemployed and virtually everyone else on the issue of unemployment has helped to set the conservative tone of the 1970s. On this as on all issues, politicians,

pundits and most ordinary people seem to think that the momentum and the protest comes from the right. It is more important to most politicians, even those who regard themselves as liberal and socially concerned, to hold down taxes, avoid new programs and keep the business community happy than it is to reduce the toll of unemployment. After all, if taxes are raised or limits are set on the freedom of business (to bully its employees, to move a plant, to pollute the air), protests will be heard. As it is, who's complaining about unemployment and what it does to the jobless and to the society as a whole?

The Philadelphia solution.

In Philadelphia, the unemployed themselves are increasingly heard from. Organized into the Philadelphia Unemployment Project, the unemployed in Philadelphia have protested and lobbied on everything from foodstamps to federal job creation. And unlike projects launched in some other cities by would-be vanguards, PUP has sought and won the broad support of the Philadelphia area unions, churches and community groups. It functions effectively in settling the immediate grievances of unemployed individuals dealing with state, city and federal bureaucracies at the same time that it organizes the jobless politically to demand that the society create enough useful, well-paying work for all.

Mass jobs lobby in D.C. April 26.

In line with that broad, political effort, PUP has formed a Philadelphia Coalition for Jobs and issued a call for a mass jobs lobby in Washington on April 26. According to PUP organizer John Dodds, the Philadelphia group has tried similar mobilizations before. On two occasions

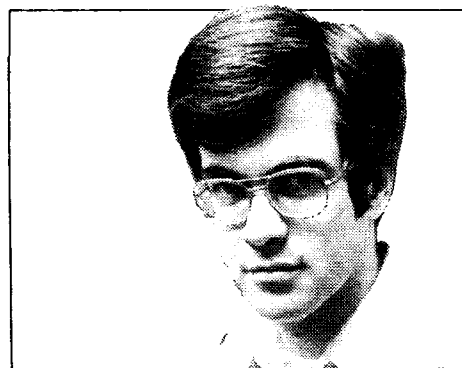
last year, more than 300 people from Philadelphia converged on Washington to meet with members of the House and with Pennsylvania Sen. John Heinz. While they did not succeed in stopping the cutbacks of unemployment benefits from 52 to 39 weeks, the mobilizations did move the Pennsylvania delegation to lead the opposition to the cuts. Perhaps just as important, the experience of traveling to Washington and working together to convince political leaders to respond to them built a sense of confidence and *esprit* among those who went.

Now PUP wants to send a strong delegation to convince Congress that it must use its budget power to create more jobs. Specifically the mobilization is putting forth three demands:

1) Support the AFL-CIO's call for a \$13 billion program to create four million new jobs this year and continue creating four million jobs a year for the next four years. This is an excellent, politically realizable economic program to begin putting people to work immediately meeting urgent needs rebuilding the cities, repairing the railroads, employing jobless young people and meeting other needs. Anyone interested in a copy of the program can get it by writing me, in care of *IN THESE TIMES*.

2) A major increase in public service (CETA) jobs. PUP wants the number of CETA slots doubled so that 1.4 million would be employed under this program. To avoid the use of the program to divide the public employee work force, PUP and the jobs coalition demands that CETA workers be paid prevailing wages (rather than minimum wages, as proposed in Carter's welfare plan) and that CETA workers be granted full collective bargaining rights.

3) Passage of Humphrey-Hawkins to



guarantee Federal planning for full employment.

The program advanced by the Philadelphia Coalition for Jobs is far in advance of anything currently being pushed by the administration or the congressional leadership. If it were to pass, all the progressive constituencies from the black movement to the unions to the women's movement to the environmentalist and community organizers would be strengthened in day-to-day political work.

What's more important in this case than the program itself, which is excellent in any case, is the movement being created. A constituency, the unemployed, that is widely perceived to be apathetic is in motion.

The chief problem Dodds and the other Philadelphia organizers face is lack of support from other cities. Bus loads of the unemployed pouring in from Ohio, New York, Illinois and other areas with severe unemployment could make a crucial difference. "The experience of unemployed people traveling together and working together through this day of activity might be just the spark needed to get an organization of the unemployed started," Dodds says.

And such a mobilization could begin to refute the myth that political momentum rests only with the right.

People interested in working on the mass jobs lobby April 26 can get in touch directly with John Dodds at PUP, 1321 Arch St., Philadelphia 19107. (215) 564-3770. In the New York area, people interested in working on this can call me or Dan Goodwin at the DSOC office (212) 260-3270.

Jack Clark is National Secretary of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

Fellow Readers of In These Times:

If you feel that Nuclear Weapons endanger us all why not take a moment now to add your name to those of Daniel Ellsberg, Bella Abzug, and Ralph Abernathy who are among the Supporters of Individuals against the Crime of Silence which publishes a declaration which reads as follows:

A declaration to our fellow citizens, to the peoples of the world, and to future generations.

1. We can no longer be silent about the threat of NUCLEAR destruction to the human race.
2. We have seen the horrors of nuclear war at Hiroshima and Nagasaki—hundreds of thousands killed, others atrociously maimed, and unknown numbers genetically damaged.
3. We have watched with increased apprehension for the last 30 years as more and more nations engage in deadly nuclear arms competition, ever increasing the number and types of nuclear weapons.
4. We believe that national security is not served by a nuclear arms race that can only end in the destruction of the world.
5. We consider the manufacture, possession and use of nuclear weapons a crime against humanity and a crime under international law.
6. We have acquiesced to a policy that threatens all of us.

As citizens, we must now face the responsibility for our silence. We must speak out.

Therefore, we hereby place our names on record, in unity with individuals of all nations, against the use and possession of nuclear weapons.

We demand that our government, every government, and the United Nations outlaw the manufacture and possession of all nuclear weapons.

To place your name on record with the thousands who have already signed the declaration you need only write to **Individuals Against the Crime of Silence**, P.O. Box 35385, Los Angeles, CA 90035. Include your signature (printed name as well) and your address. We will send you copies of the declaration in letter form to send to your elected officials as well as the Secretary General of the U.N. we are asking for \$2.00 or more donation if you can spare it. Imagine the U.N. receiving thousands of letters during the Special Session on Disarmament!!

DIALOG

New York gays unite against "careerists"

Josh Martin's article on the New York City gay rights bill (*ITT*, Mar. 15) is correct to point out that all "leaders of this city's gay community have decided to push for prompt introduction of a gay rights bill in the City Council," but is strangely misleading in two other respects.

First, it gives the impression that the National Gay Task Force (which is not a New York group) is playing the leading role in this struggle. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The NGTF and two other conservative gay groups (the New York Political Action Council and the Study Group) have been working behind the scenes on the bill, but the real job of organizing the gay community and nongay support is being done by the Coalition for Lesbian and Gay Rights (CLGR), put together last June following the defeat of gay rights in Miami, and representing some 35 groups (*ITT*, Jan. 18).

Second, the CLGR's position all along has been for immediate introduction and passage of the bill. We have often reaffirmed this position at community meetings. The movement has not "reversed" its position, contrary to Martin's report, but a small layer of pro-establishment gay groups, including the NGTF, have been forced to reverse

their position in favor of stalling.

Many city gay activists believe that these groups were more interested in taking the heat off Democratic party candidates in the election next fall in the event of a referendum than they were in pushing for immediate passage when the rest of the movement was in no mood to wait or compromise.

The NGTF and its associates in NY-PAC and the Study Group even went so far in mid-February as to try to destroy the CLGR by setting up a rival coalition, easier for them and their friends in government to control. This effort blew up in their faces when every single member group of the CLGR decided to stick with the coalition, despite the fact that gay politicians all the way up into the Mayor's office and the office of at least one borough president (Robert Adams of the Bronx) were busy digging up McCarthyite tactics by publicly denouncing the independent lesbian and gay movement in this city as "agents provocateurs" and "nothing but a bunch of Trotskyites" who had been "abandoned by all decent gay groups."

IN THESE TIMES does a disservice by printing misleading stories like Martin's without first checking the facts. The facts are that the movement is united on pressing for immediate passage, but only because we did not allow our movement to be stampeded into postponing our struggle as the Koch administration and its gay mouthpieces tried to get us to do. We are determined to fight for our rights, and we will not let the Democratic party, the Koch administration, or Gov. Carey decide for us when and how to do it. Nor will we let our own gay careerists rebait our movement out of existence.

CLGR Spokespeople:
David Thorstad, Cheryl Adams,
Betty Santoro, Father Leo M.
Joseph, Eleanor Cooper
New York

William Graebner

Attack on mandatory retirement part of quest for New Efficiency

On Feb. 18, 1917, the *Washington Post* carried a story about Elizabeth Hyde, an 86-year-old Treasury department clerk. Although she had not been especially well treated by the government (a recent pay raise was the first in 28 years), Hyde wanted nothing more than to continue her job. Work, she told the reporter, "has always absorbed my entire attention."

Three years later, when the new Civil Service Retirement Act took effect, Hyde may well have been one of many federal employees bitter at forced separation. Perhaps she was one of those fortunate enough to receive a two-year "continuance," for in 1920, debts, mortgages, health, and dependency relationships were all considered relevant in determining whether an employee would be immediately retired or temporarily retained. The future, however, belonged to men like Gaylord Saltzgaber, commissioner of pensions in the Interior department, who refused to grant continuance to any of the 88 persons who applied in his jurisdiction. "I do not believe there is one [older person in the pension bureau]," he wrote, "whose work may not be better done by a younger person and generally at a lower initial salary...."

Saltzgaber's enthusiasm for efficiency was not far from the spirit of the age. The 1920 legislation was in large measure designed to remove the Elizabeth Hydes and other workers defined as superannuated by a society increasingly interested in the productivity of its workforce.

President Carter has now signed a measure closely identified with 77-year-old Florida Representative Claude Pepper

and his Select Committee on Aging, that raises the permissible mandatory retirement age from 65 to 70 in public and private employment and uncaps the age 70 mandatory provision for federal employees. Now that the bill has become law, the modern counterparts of Elizabeth Hyde may continue working. Indeed, they may have to. According to Commerce Secretary Juanita Kreps, administration officials are considering withholding full social security benefits until recipients reach age 68. Kreps finds herself in the company of Russell Long, chairman of the Senate Finance committee; William Simon, Secretary of the Treasury under Nixon and Ford; the *Wall Street Journal*; John Palmer, a senior fellow at Brookings; sociologist Harold Sheppard; and House Republican leaders.

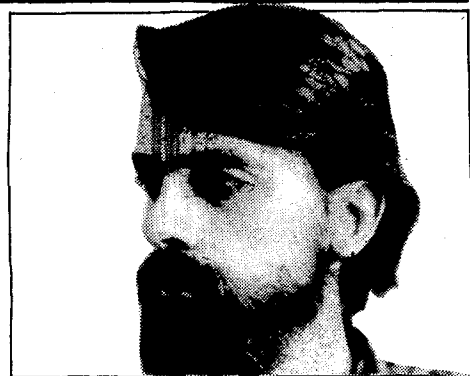
The hearings on retirement give us other tracks to follow. Three are of central importance:

1) *The Social Question.* During the 1930s, the retirement of those over 60 had appeal as a way of spreading available work to potentially radical and dangerous youth and to their 45-year-old parents, thought by the Roosevelt administration to be the key to social stability. The current reassessment of mandatory retirement and social security eligibility reflects a tendency to discount such factors. In spite of continued high rates of unemployment, we are a decade from the urban riots of the 1960s and there is some question whether ghetto violence is capable of invoking the extreme anxiety it once did. Our politicians are thus less concerned about the social impact of keeping older workers on the job than

they have been in the past. The report of Pepper's Select Committee questions the assumption, central to historical analyses of social stability, that a young person has more right to a job than an older person, and it offers youth only the evanescent prospect of full employment.

2) *Social Security Funding.* The restructuring of retirement promises aid to the ailing social security trust fund and private pension systems. In 1975, Social Security commissioner Robert Ball claimed that a reversal in the trend toward early retirement and "greater labor force participation among older people in the next century" could produce "a significant saving for social security...." The Labor department and the Congressional Budget Office have recently attempted to estimate potential savings in retirement benefits. No single aspect of retirement has interested Senators, Representatives and bureaucrats (including Kreps and Pepper) more than this one.

3) *The New Efficiency.* Enthusiasm for efficiency, and for the development of rational standards by which to judge it, has been a dominant theme among opponents of mandatory retirement. On this issue, the American business system is criticized not as callous and unconcerned with its workers, but as excessively solicitous toward the inefficient and unwilling to make hard, rational decisions. A spokesman for the National Retired Teachers Association seemed not only resigned but pleased that the elimination of mandatory retirement would result in the firing of incompetent teachers. The representative of a consulting firm supported the need to "zero base"



age in the labor force." The Department of Labor," emphasized the Carter administration's Donald Elisburg, "is very much concerned about conditions in employment which result in the denial to individuals of the right to be considered on the basis of their ability to do the job. To stifle individual ability and productivity is to establish nonproductive economic and employment policies." The attack on mandatory retirement is, in short, one facet of a larger effort, which might be called the New Efficiency, and which is intended to encourage productivity in a bloated national economy facing critical challenges from abroad.

The 60 years since 1917 have brought us full circle. Convinced of the destructive potential of an aging bureaucracy, the pension bureau's Saltzgaber was typical of an age that perceived retirement as an inexpensive instrument of social and economic efficiency. It no longer seems inexpensive; we are not, for the moment, much concerned with social disorder; our needs for efficiency push us away from classifications that may be easy to administer but have little relationship to productivity. Once again, our older workers are being asked to serve the economic and social needs of other age groups and of the general economy. ■ William Graebner teaches history at State University of New York, College at Fredonia; he recently completed a book on the history of retirement in the United States, and is author of *Coal-Mining Safety in the Progressive Period: The Political Economy of Reform*.

(© 1978, William Graebner)

Nancy Lieber

Ah, Spring is here again... when young minds turn to Marx

Spring quarter has arrived, and I turn once again to the teaching of Political Science 117, "Marxism." If it is anything like the last two times around, it will go something like this...

Week I. Studying the pre-registration list before class, I note that the 90-odd students come from 20 different majors and three college divisions. They obviously are attracted to a course that promises to give them a basic introduction to Marxism in only ten short weeks; I wish I had at least a semester. I begin with the usual explanation of course mechanics, then swing into a broad overview of what Marx and Marxism dealt and deals with. A bright young economics major asks in a defensive voice that if capitalism was as bad as Marx said, how come the workers hadn't overthrown it yet? I assure him that if he could wait, we would be answering that question over the next ten weeks. I go on to indicate the two major interpretations of Marx that dominate the current century—Marxist-Leninist communism and neo-Marxist democratic socialism. An Animal Science major wants to know what "neo" means.

After some background lectures on early capitalist theory, the utopian socialist response to its practice, and then some always intriguing biographical material on Marx and Engels, we plunge into Week II, the Hegelian setting. The combination of Hegel's World Spirit and the 85 degree classroom heat begins to wear down the students' spirit.

Things pick up noticeably with Week III and the discussion of Marx's notion of religion as a manifestation of man's

alienated condition. I read aloud (from an anarchist newspaper given to me by a former student) Madalyn O'Hair's Atheist Creed—the philosophical parallels with what we have just read of Marx's materialist conception of history are striking. Yet, I end the lecture by noting the existence of a Christian socialist movement, even a Catholic Marxist one, in Europe, Latin America.... A hand shoots up in row three, "And we are active here in Davis, too," he exclaims. I give him a few minutes to do a pitch for his group (American Christians for Socialism?).

By Week IV we are well into the crux—economic alienation and the nature of work itself. Many of the students have held summer jobs, in particular picking and canning produce grown by California agribusiness. No, they wouldn't want to do that job all their lives; yes, they find a beautiful dream in the Fourier/Marx notion that work should consist of "hunting in the morning, fishing in the afternoon, shepherding in the evening, and criticizing after dinner." They also know that in the meantime they will continue to size up new acquaintances with a "What's your major?" and later "What do you do for a living?" approach. Turning from the *Paris Manuscripts* to *Capital*, I painstakingly go through Marx's explanation of the extraction of surplus value. The students get right to the point, suggesting the word "rip-off." Then the bright young economics majors have their day as we scrutinize Marx's predictions about the future development and eventual self-destruction of the capitalist system.

With Week V we get to the revolution itself, its various means, its elusive ends. The students search in vain for the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" in the *Communist Manifesto*; they are further confused by Marx's statement, "I am not a Marxist." During office hours, a Leninist-leaning student confides to me that while he finds the pluralist, libertarian side of neo-Marxism seductive, he nevertheless has chosen to resist it; the point is to crush the bourgeois dictatorship, and substitute a dictatorship of American "third-worlders." If they've held us at gunpoint, we'll get our chance to hold them at gunpoint. I suggest he struggle to end all dictatorships.

Week VI or VII, and a young woman comes in during office hours to say that while she had come into the course a liberal, she thought she was now either a social democrat or a democratic socialist, but since she had first heard those two terms only weeks ago, could I please explain the difference once again. Such is the kind of office hour conversation I'm delighted to have.

Week VIII. One of my "readers" announces at the beginning of class that a demonstration is in process on the front steps of the Administration building and that would anyone like to join him and many of their classmates in protesting University of California investments in South Africa? A few leave, sirens are heard in the background, several hours later 18 students (including several from PS 117, but not the reader) are arrested for trespassing.

Week IX. We are discussing the Marx-



ist explanation of why the U.S. went to war in Vietnam. A retired lieutenant colonel in the course explains that the "real" reason had to do with inter-service rivalry—that is, whichever (Army, Navy, Air Force) fought better would get a larger slice of the military budget from Congress. He knew, he'd been there. The class discussion ends in chaos.

Week X. A young man quite in earnest observes that he had certainly learned a lot, found much of it very persuasive, but as a chemistry major he figured he would be landing a job in a large corporation. Could I therefore please recommend some readings that would re-instill his faith in the capitalist system? My last lecture is serious, bidding them to think about their own political assumptions and actions. I paraphrase a favored political writer: "The question is not *whether* the future will be collectivist, for the present already is. The question is whether that collectivist society will be planned privately, bureaucratically, and in an authoritarian manner, or whether it will be done in an open, democratic, libertarian, and emancipatory way." Then the final exam, the turning in of grades, and finally the chance to read the students' evaluations. Some continuing skepticism, some welcome enthusiasts, but also near-unanimous amazement at the richness, complexity and pertinence of Marx and socialism, and unanimous "Why didn't they teach us this in high school?" Is it any wonder I look forward to this year's class? ■

Nancy Lieber teaches political science at University of California, Davis. Her column will appear regularly.

PERSPECTIVES

FOR A NEW AMERICA

A moralistic left makes enemies of the people

By Bill Smoot

The American left faces a paradox endemic to all movements for revolutionary change: in order to be revolutionary, it must define itself in opposition to the existing social system and resist cooptation; but in order to be politically effective, it must avoid becoming alien to society.

The American left is now unacceptable to the American people, politically and socially. Politically, there is little support for the left's critique of capitalism and even less for its alternative. And socially, the left is perceived as neither sensitive to nor understanding of the majority of American people, and therefore not trustworthy as leaders or desirable as fellow travelers. The politics of the left—particularly its criticisms of corporate capitalism—may even be more palatable to many Americans than the people who espouse those politics.

The reasons for the gulf between the radical left and the rest of the people range from past acts of violence, which have branded leftists as public enemies, to the apparent craziness of groups like the U.S. Labor party or the obnoxious behavior of the Yippies. But equally forceful in driving a wedge of distrust between the left and the American people has been the left's moralism.

At first glance, this may seem inevitable. The left is a force of moral opposition to exploitation, racism, sexism and imperialism, and leftists sometimes assume they could integrate themselves and their organizations into American society only by abandoning those principles. Indeed, some leftists consider their alienation to be not only a consequence of their values, but even a measure of them: "If everyone hates us, then we must be right."

But the dislike felt for the left may measure something else, since Americans cool to the left are not all racist, exploitive or imperialist. They are resentful of the pointed finger of accusation, and they have a healthy distrust for the preacher and his advertised piety.



Captain Ahab by Rockwell Kent

The nature of moralism.

Leftist moralism holds its principles to be absolute. It begins with an ideal and asks why people do not measure up to that ideal. The question is rhetorical, more a criticism than a genuine inquiry. The outlook of the moralist is often transfused with the judgment that "these people are not what they should be." Discussion of class-consciousness, for example, often begins with an ideal of class-conscious workers and then examines the American working class' shortcomings.

"How could they so fail?" And whether the answer is that they have been duped by bourgeois propaganda or bought off, the "explanation" is not so much social-scientific as juridical in nature: If they have been duped, they are innocent by virtue of their ignorance; if they have been bought off, they are guilty by virtue of their betrayal.

For moralism, life must serve principle and ideal. For a socialist morality, principles must serve life.

Moralism is also purist: Whatever is

not absolute good is no good and therefore evil. In this Manichean distinction between the sinners and the saved, one is either revolutionary or reactionary, or—less passionately—correct or incorrect.

When IN THESE TIMES ran a cover photo of actress Faye Dunaway wearing a low-cut dress, some readers objected to what they regarded as a sexist appeal to commercialism, while others applauded the cover as a legitimate attempt at mass appeal. Each position had its merits. But one reader, also a distributor of ITT in his community, was so scandalized by the photo that he refused to distribute that issue of the paper. He wrote: "I was completely grossed out by your cover. I cannot distribute or promote the sexist shit that you have put in your paper." It is significant that he chose to refuse distribution of the paper rather than engage its readers in the controversy, perhaps starting a petition to the editors. His withdrawal in righteous indignation from any direct engagement in the issue symbolizes perfectly the purism of the moralist: What is wrong is not to be touched. Rather than wading into the controversy, the better to shape its course, the moralist retreats to high ground, holding his principles above the waters of human activity that swirl below.

The moralist's purism thus leads to inactivity. At a recent discussion following a lecture in Berkeley, one leftist was complaining that all of the politically progressive groups around were seriously faulted in some way. As examples he mentioned the United Farmworkers and Delancy Street (a radical self-help organization of ex-convicts), both of which he criticized for having "male and charismatic" leaders. The import of his remarks was that male, charismatic leadership is: 1) a moral fault, and 2) of such magnitude as to make the group unworthy of serious effort.

Moralism is also aggressively partisan. The realm of values is a battleground for the moralist, and there can be no relaxation of vigilance in this holy war. Since values are absolute, those who do not share them are suspect as the enemy. Moralists have little ability to wink at human fallibility—including their own. There is something suspicious about the readiness of some on the left to denounce as "bourgeois" or "competitive" every pursuit of skill and excellence, as decadent every sort of pleasure, as "mindless passivity" every form of fun, as sexist every expression of sexuality and romance. Cultural critique is valuable when it enhances life, not when it spreads sourness.

One of the most serious characteristics of moralism is its reduction of knowledge to morality. Because all phenomena that pass through its prism are distilled into good and evil, moralism becomes blind to the ambiguity, the complexity and the depth of human existence.

In the busing controversies of the past

few years, the moralism of some parts of the left led it to interpret all forms of grass-roots opposition to busing as racism. In Boston, the Socialist Workers party carried this moralizing tunnel-vision to its extreme by substituting the term "the racists" for all opponents to busing.

They and many other leftists showed little understanding of the complex texture of fears and concerns that motivated many white working people to oppose busing: hope for their children's future and fear about the effect of busing on educational quality; fears about crime and violence in the schools to which their children would be bused; anger over the powerlessness of being unable to influence policy in the school system and frustration over the absurdity of busing students out of their home neighborhoods.

Some of the opponents to busing really were racists—and vicious ones at that. But the left showed itself at its worst when it failed to recognize the distinction between objectively racist behavior and behavior that is racist in intention. Nor did the left show much sensitivity to their own position as outsiders.

The reduction of knowledge to judgment is made complete when concepts are transformed into labels of good and evil. The term "petty bourgeois" represents how social categories can be reduced to moral categories. When Marx used the term "petty bourgeois" in a pejorative context, it referred to actions motivated by or serving the class interests of small property owners. But in the hands of some leftists today, the term has been emptied of its analytic meaning and has become merely another name by which to condemn one's opponent.

Outsiders' discomfort.

In Studs Terkel's *Working*, Jill Torrance, a fashion model with an acutely critical awareness about the advertising world, comments: "I'd probably join women's lib, but they don't believe in make-up and advertising, so I couldn't very well go to their meetings as I am."

Her remark echoes a common sentiment among those critical of the existing society but not self-consciously leftist. They are kept away from the left by the feeling that they would not be accepted. This may be due in part to the media's presentation of the left. But the left's moralism is largely responsible for so many feeling this way.

I should add that as a member of the left, I include myself in those tendencies I criticize; indeed, my analysis of moralism is the product of self-reflection as well as of external observation.

In speaking of the moralism of the left, I have not meant to imply that the American left is homogeneous. But moralism exists—in varying degrees and variegated forms—throughout the left. My examples are not from the sectarian lunatic fringe but from the left's more mature and viable sectors.

IN BOSTON

Eugene Debs

and the American Movement

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with **James Weinstein**

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(off the record)

By Sidney Blumenthal and Danny Schechter

Turning Point?

The growing disenchantment of Americans with the policies of Menachem Begin may be due in part to dramatically improved newspaper coverage. Israel's invasion of Lebanon, bombing of Beirut, killing of civilians, creations of thousands of refugees, use of anti-personnel weapons, and occupation of yet more Arab territory has been reported in detail and mainly with objectivity. It's also significant that this bolder approach by American newspapers to the Mideast comes at a time when U.S.-Israeli relations are at their lowest ebb.

Diversity of opinion is generally not welcomed by the American Jewish establishment. American Jews have been heavily pressured to support anyone in charge in Israel. Many synagogues, for instance, have recently sent out urgent and hysterical appeals to congregants to remain steadfast for Begin. The kind of debate that is now taking place in Israel over political goals and the need to achieve peace is not reflected in the U.S., partly because American Jews have been poorly informed by their own publications over the years.

The change in emphasis in the general print media now startles many of them. They were unprepared for the depth of the reporting, and their shock accounts for some of the Jewish hostility to President Carter's Mideast policy, which does not solely favor Israel.

Newsweek's cover story on Jewish disenchantment with Carter handled the matter gingerly, mainly recapitulating Begin's differences with the President. The *New York Times* ran a better, although not very incisive, front-page summary of opinion among Jews on the Mideast, which has reached a highly confused state, not entirely supportive of Begin.

Particularly distinguished among American reporters covering the Israeli invasion of Lebanon were Richard Ben Cramer of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and H.D.S. Greenway of the *Washington Post*. Cramer's dispatches, syndicated by the Knight chain, have been notable for close observation of events and the length in which he covers stories that in the past would probably have been overlooked by the American press. The *Inquirer*, which seems to be constantly improving, features his reports prominently. Cramer's account of the detention and forthcoming trial of Sami Esmail, the Palestinian-American political prisoner held by the Israelis, was especially informative.

Among columnists, Jimmy Breslin has turned in some hardhitting stuff. "Apparently a dead woman in Lebanon is not worth as much as a dead woman in Israel," he wrote in the *New York Daily News*. Cramer of the *Inquirer* actually quoted in one of his reports an Israeli officer who casually offered the same remark that Breslin suggested as a provocative opinion.

Of course, there is vast room for improvement in Mideast coverage. Still, the latest round of warfare may have marked something of a turning point for the American press. This does not include television journalists, however, who are generally as dim as ever. Since they depend on film to make their points they often rely on official statements as the final word.

Who's in charge?

An assignment to cover the White House is one of the biggest plums in the journalistic profession. White House correspondents are among the most visible and highly paid reporters; their stories are usually found on page one. They travel with the President and sometimes think the glamorous aura of power will rub off on them.

Eleanor Randolph of the *Chicago Tribune* admits, though, in *Washington Monthly*, that the job itself is not all that great. There is so much pressure to keep up with a steady stream of information that there is little time for analysis. She compares the job to that of a presidential stenographer.

"There are a lot of reasons for covering the White House besides the job," she writes. "Some of the reasons...are not really as grandiose as we would like to believe: the desire for approval by my parents after all these years, the desire for a picture of me and Jimmy Carter for the bathroom wall, the realization that even if I don't have something important in my life I could at least watch something important."

But during the Carter administration reporters on the beat aren't even sure of what they're watching. Nobody seems to know who's in charge. The result is pack journalism in search of someone responsible. A few months ago the press decided that Hamilton Jordan was holding the reins of internal White House power, so there was a spate of articles dealing with his political skills. Perhaps the most peculiar piece on Jordan appeared in Clay Felker's new *Esquire* (which reads like the old *New York* magazine, without the novelty and with a more mercenary tone). Aaron Latham (husband of CBS's Lesley Stahl), profiled Jordan in the manner of a quick-draw psychohistorian. Jordan's problems, Latham surmised, had to do with the fact that he wore corrective shoes as a child and is a Southerner, notorious for their inferiority complexes as everyone knows. In Felker's *Esquire* this passes for profundity.

Latham's piece was valuable, though, in providing interviews with Jordan's old college chums, one of whom described the presidential chief of staff as "a one-man slum." Jordan, according to this account, was so unkempt during his college days that his car, filled with garbage, had mice. A picture of Jordan accompanying the article, for which he posed, shows him pretending as though his middle finger is stuck up his nose.

Soon after this appeared the press decided that Stuart Eizenstat was in charge of the White House. Who knows who will be discovered next month?

Fake photos

The *Columbia Journalism Review* finally picked up on the story of faked photographs of atrocities in Cambodia that have been appearing with regularity in many media outlets, most recently on the Jan. 23 cover of *Newsweek's* international edition. These are the same pictures that had been exposed as phony in *U.S./Indochina Report*, which quoted a Thai officer confessing that they had been posed. A year earlier, in April 1976, the

not come for at least ten years are now promised for early next year. He has even begun to agree with his critic Gen. Leigh that a return to institutional rule has become necessary.

"Pinochet has become as consistent as an oscillator," said a Washington-based reporter for a Chilean magazine, "and the Letelier-Moffitt murders that he apparently ordered have become the instrument for his undoing. Bloody poetry." ■ **Saul Landau** replaced **Orlando Letelier** as director of the *Transnational Institute*, a program of the *Institute for Policy Studies*. His latest film is *The CIA Case Officer*. For information write 1901 Q St., NW, Washington, DC 20009.



Were these people serious, or did they travel long distances just for the walk? Dick Schaap of the NBC Nightly News doesn't know.

English language *Bangkok Post* exposed the same photos. And six months before *Newsweek* featured the bogus pictures Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman called attention to them in a piece in *The Nation*.

It's difficult to assess what's really going on in Cambodia and the American press has made it even harder to figure out. Failing to report anything on Cambodia would be an improvement over what has appeared to date.

Meaningless

The most curious report on the protests against the Davis Cup matches held at Vanderbilt University was filed by Dick Schaap on the NBC Nightly News. The issue was the involvement of the South African team. Apparently the success of the protest in calling attention to South

Africa's apartheid policies and in isolating South Africa from international sporting competitions perplexed Schaap. He reported that if the protest's objectives were met, the protest would then be unsuccessful. By forcing an end to U.S.-South African competition, the protesters, he said, "ironically deprive themselves of the forum they need." This convoluted reasoning was probably tacked on to the end of Schaap's report because he may have thought it sounded snappy. Use of the word "ironically" always has a strong appeal to television journalists in need of an ending with a flourish. Unfortunately, Schaap deprived his report of any sense. What could he have had in mind?

Sidney Blumenthal is IN THESE TIMES' Boston correspondent. **Danny Schechter** is a Nieman Fellow in Journalism at Harvard University.

Setbacks at Farah

Continued from page 5.

aged questions from the floor. Many who attended the meeting say that a clear majority of workers raised their hands in opposition to the contract. But no formal vote was taken, and the presiding union official declared that the contract had passed.

This marked a new low in rank-and-file support for the union. Since that time, Farah has closed another of its El Paso plants and the number of union members working at Farah continues to fall.

Continuing difficulty.

Events at Farah since the strike show the continued difficulty of organizing in the Southwest. The right-to-work law, the consolidated opposition of powerful employers, the volatile nature of the garment industry, the threat of runaway shops, and the timidity of union officials are formidable obstacles in the way of a strong workers' organization. In addition the abundant reserve army of labor and the resulting competition for jobs in the border area create divisions among workers that employers like Farah can use to their own advantage.

It is clear from the Farah experiences that successful unionization does not end when the union wins a contract. Organizing and training of workers in everything from grievance procedure to labor history must continue on a long-term basis. In addition a strong rank-and-file movement must be developed—one that can

overcome divisions among the workers, build a democratic local union, and encourage women workers to acquire leadership skills.

While the Farah strike did not produce a strong, mature rank-and-file movement, it did help to create conditions in which one can develop. The workers who made the strike were irreversibly changed by it. All of them say that they would organize and strike again; most of them recognize the need for strong support from an international union like the ACWA (now merged into the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers union, ACTWU), as long as it does not undermine the independent organization of rank-and-file workers. "We're sticking in there and we're not going to get out and we're not giving up," one ex-striker insisted.

The Chicanas who comprise the majority of strikers learned that they could speak and act on their own behalf as women and workers, lessons they will not forget. In the words of one striker: "I believe in fighting for our rights, and for women's rights... When I walked out of that company way back then, it was like I had taken a weight off my back. And I began to realize, 'Why did I put up with it all these years? Why didn't I try for something else?' Now I want to stay here and help people to help themselves." ■ **Laurie Coyle, Emily Honig and Gail Hersatter** are writers in California. This article originally appeared in *NACLA Report* (P.O. Box 57, New York, NY 10025).

Chile

Continued from page 3.
with every new revelation.

The state of siege after four years was suddenly decreed to be only a state of emergency. Exiled critics such as Christian Democratic leader Jaime Castillo Velasco are being allowed to return to the country. Pinochet has claimed that he has now released into exile most political prisoners.

The curfew has been dropped completely and elections that Pinochet swore would

LIFE IN THE U.S.

MEDIA

Mother Jones pushes the outer limits

By David Moberg

THE MAGAZINE FOR THE REST of us? At least the 170,000 people who buy it or the eight million who have received promotional mailings for it know that the magazine is *Mother Jones*.

But who are the rest of us?

"That's part of the mystique," general manager Mark Dowie explained, leaning back in the bright and comfortably cluttered San Francisco offices of the magazine, launched in February 1976. "It's one of the most controversial things we do. But basically it comes from the cultural, political, and national alienation of the '60s. It says something to people who like to read magazines that this won't insult you as much as others."

The slogan and Dowie's explanation touch on some of the distinctive qualities and aspirations of *Mother Jones*, a slick monthly that combines short tidbits on current controversies, advice on health, survival and happiness, exposes of corporate and political skulduggery, short stories, political commentary, reports on alternatives in work, energy, government, and culture, occasional reviews, reflections on the women's movement and a dozen or so other features that might appeal to "the rest of us."

Mother Jones wants to reach a broad audience—a quarter of a million within a couple of years. It also wants to feed political ferment and, in co-founder Adam Hochschild's words, "make the basic ideas of some form of socialism as much a part of American consciousness as ecology is today—which was unheard of ten years ago."

Confronting commercial necessity.

To succeed politically, the magazine has to prosper commercially and compete on the mass market with publications lacking any scrupulous encumbrance to their goal of money-making. That has led them to confront what co-founder Richard Parker calls the left's "schizophrenia" about business and politics in two ways: first, by paying detailed attention to the business enterprise and promotion and, second, by turning some mass magazine formulas—colorful, clean but fairly conservative layout, personality profiles, come-on articles about fads, entertainments and diversions—to more political ends.

Most of the people putting out *Mother Jones* are in their mid-thirties or younger, experienced with some mainline or alternative journalism, and influenced by at least some activity in the political movements of recent years.

Their readers aren't much different—average age 33, mean income of \$15,000 (considerably higher than *Mother Jones* salaries), avid readers, interested in political muckraking. Sixty-two percent call themselves "environmentalists," 60 percent "liberal," 46 percent "feminist," 33 percent "pacifist," and 25 percent "socialist."

Lots of them probably read *Ramparts*, which was dying as *Mother Jones* was being born—hoping to continue the best of *Ramparts* but with better money management and a slightly different image. Hochschild and Parker, as well as the late Paul Jacobs, another co-founder who left the magazine shortly after its inception, all worked for a brief spell on the old *Ramparts*.

An initial 80,000 circulation.

During an 18-month start-up period the projected publication was called *New Dimensions*, a name that had to be dropped abruptly for copyright reasons in favor of



Adam Hochschild (above) and Richard Parker (below), two of the founders of *MOTHER JONES*, believe that their magazine will help make some form of socialism a part of the American consciousness.

the risky, weird monicker taken from one of America's legendary labor organizers. The magazine's founders set up the non-profit Foundation for National Progress to publish the magazine, sponsor research, fund other projects, run a recently started program in teaching worker self-direction (the New School for Democratic Management), and spin off other enterprises. The non-profit foundation status also guarantees its publication, *Mother Jones*, breaks on taxes and postage.

With half a million dollars from roughly 45 donors—mainly individuals and a few small foundations of the McGovernite political stripe—the magazine's initiators started a massive direct mail campaign that netted a starting subscription list of 80,000. They set up an editorial structure that is "halfway between a traditional business and a movement collective," according to Hochschild, with election of some editorial and managerial posts.

On the basis of subscription lists of magazines like *Ms.*, *New Times*, and *Harper's* and analyses of voting patterns, they figured there was a "market universe" of roughly three million people whom they could reasonably try to reach. They picked up lessons from publications ranging from *Ramparts* and the current *Village Voice* to the old socialist magazine, *Masses*.

After initially lukewarm successes with a soft sell, they got pushier. "As long as we're trying to sell things to human be-

ings," Dowie says bluntly, "there's only one way to do it—hype. All of us in this country—left, right and center—are enculturated with slickness. Most leftists, if they go into a drug store, probably buy Crest."

The editorial content changed, too. At first they were very cautious, laid-back, sedate and politically diffuse—with attention to rational consumption, off-beat cures and diversions, and personal confession or advice as well as more hard-hitting political stories. *Mother Jones* now chooses to accent more heavily investigative and critical journalism, along with descriptions of the way things might be in a non-capitalist future.

Pursuing the mass audience.

The magazine pursues the mass audience with determination. "At first I had a much more traditional, pristine attitude," Hochschild said. "Every article ought to have the politically correct line and every cover should be restrained. It was pandering to go into profiles."

"Now I feel differently. Someone who wants the latest refinement of left thinking or strategy, they'll have to turn to *Monthly Review* or *Socialist Revolution* (now *Socialist Review*) to get it. The people I'd like to reach are open to changing their way of thinking but not necessarily on the left. In a way our doing profiles and getting people interested [in socialism by reading about socialist author Michael Harrington, for example] is analogous to

the French Communist party running ski resorts for its members. You have to give something more than truth or light. Otherwise people get bored."

At times, of course, some critical readers have argued the magazine's quest for entertainment slights serious political arguments and analysis, which is usually deeply embedded in anecdote and description.

Hochschild wants to avoid the American left's history of talking to itself and to "talk across a lot of gaps" by providing literary entertainment; yet he also wants the magazine to do more stories like his favorite exposes of the dangers of the Dalkon shield intrauterine device and of the way Ford Motor Company deliberately built their Pintos as "the deadliest car in America" in order to increase profits.

Those stories revealed "how corporate capitalism works from the inside and shows in a concrete way why capitalism requires these awful things to happen." The Pinto story in the September/October issue last year got lots of publicity and a Sigma Delta Chi award for *Mother Jones*.

Sophisticated business operation.

Meanwhile, on the business side, "in order to survive we have to get more sophisticated every day," Dowie said. With a lean staff of 18, they believe they will break even this year while spending around \$144,000 to produce each issue. The staff has computerized everything it can, including a complex model of the magazine's potential growth and cash flow.

There have been difficulties with their eclectic and far-ranging approach. Some readers have accused *Mother Jones* of suffering from "an identity problem" by scattering itself too broadly. A small group of feminists who were angry about a sympathetically critical article on the women's movement nearly touched off an embarrassing boycott. And ecologist Barry Commoner was miffed that his article on solar energy appeared in an issue with a piece that he, but not the editors, thought took "pyramid power" seriously.

Mother Jones editors remain convinced that there is a big audience out there for a magazine that runs articles on the assassination of Orlando Letelier and on the joys of masturbation, on Communists in power in Bologna, Italy, and on the rip-off of life insurance, on loneliness and on Gov. Jerry Brown's politics of "nothing for everyone," on "Tex-Mex" music and on dangers of liquified natural gas, on populist politician and country singer Glen Taylor out of America's past and on German filmmaker Werner Herzog from the newest new wave, on migrant Ph.D.'s and on memories of a Chinese youth (an article that won *Mother Jones* the National Magazine Award for *Belles Lettres* in 1976).

"Magazines like this exist on the periphery of the political movement," Parker, author of *The Myth of the Middle Class*, said. "What *Mother Jones* does in a period like this is to put people back in touch with each other in a symbolic sense. They know there are other people out there."

"Beyond that you look for cracks in reporting that feed into the fundamental distrust of government and corporations. Conventional journalism doesn't push toward the other system. You don't report Rumania as the other system but you do push the outer limit."

Pushing the outer limit: that's something the original *Mother Jones* would have liked. ■

SPORTS

Look to Philly for next NBA champs

By Mark Naison

THIS HAS NOT BEEN ONE OF the better seasons in NBA history. A spate of fights with thinly disguised racial overtones, one of them ending in tragedy; a visible deterioration in the quality of the refereeing; the wholesale dismissal of losing coaches, and an unprecedented—but justified—string of fines and suspensions coming from the Commissioner's office suggest that the league is heading for trouble if it doesn't clean up its act.

Let's hope the playoffs turn out better than the regular season. Here's how I see the teams lining up:

Eastern Division:

Philadelphia is the class of the Division. Coach Billy Cunningham has improved the morale of his talented squad by giving everyone playing time, and the '76ers are playing with a lot more enthusiasm and togetherness than they did last year. But the key to the 'Sixers' success is the strength of their bench. The second team of Darryl Dawkins, Joe Bryant, Steve Mix, Lloyd Free and Ted McLain could beat many NBA starting fives. The 'Sixers have been devastating in the second half of the season and have the depth and talent to wear down any opponent.

The only team that threatens to give them a run is the San Antonio Spurs. The Spurs have two great scorers in Larry Kenon and George Gervin, a solid center in Billy Paulitz, and a physically unimpressive, but effective group of offensive and defensive specialists. Like the 'Sixers, the Spurs play ten men, and when their shooters are on they can run up the score with amazing rapidity. But they lack the physical strength and overall team talent of the 'Sixers, and could probably not beat them in a four-out-of-seven series.

The other teams in the Division all have glaring weaknesses. The Washington Bullets have good shooters and rebounders, but lack the speed or depth to stay with the 'Sixers. The Knicks, led by Bob McAdoo and Earl Monroe, have excellent scoring power but are complete strangers to such niceties of the game as boxing out,

switching on defense, and running back downcourt to stop the fastbreak.

The Cavaliers and the Hawks, though they are well coached squads, lack the overall talent and depth to beat the top teams.

I see the 'Sixers running through the Division with no difficulty if they don't get overconfident.

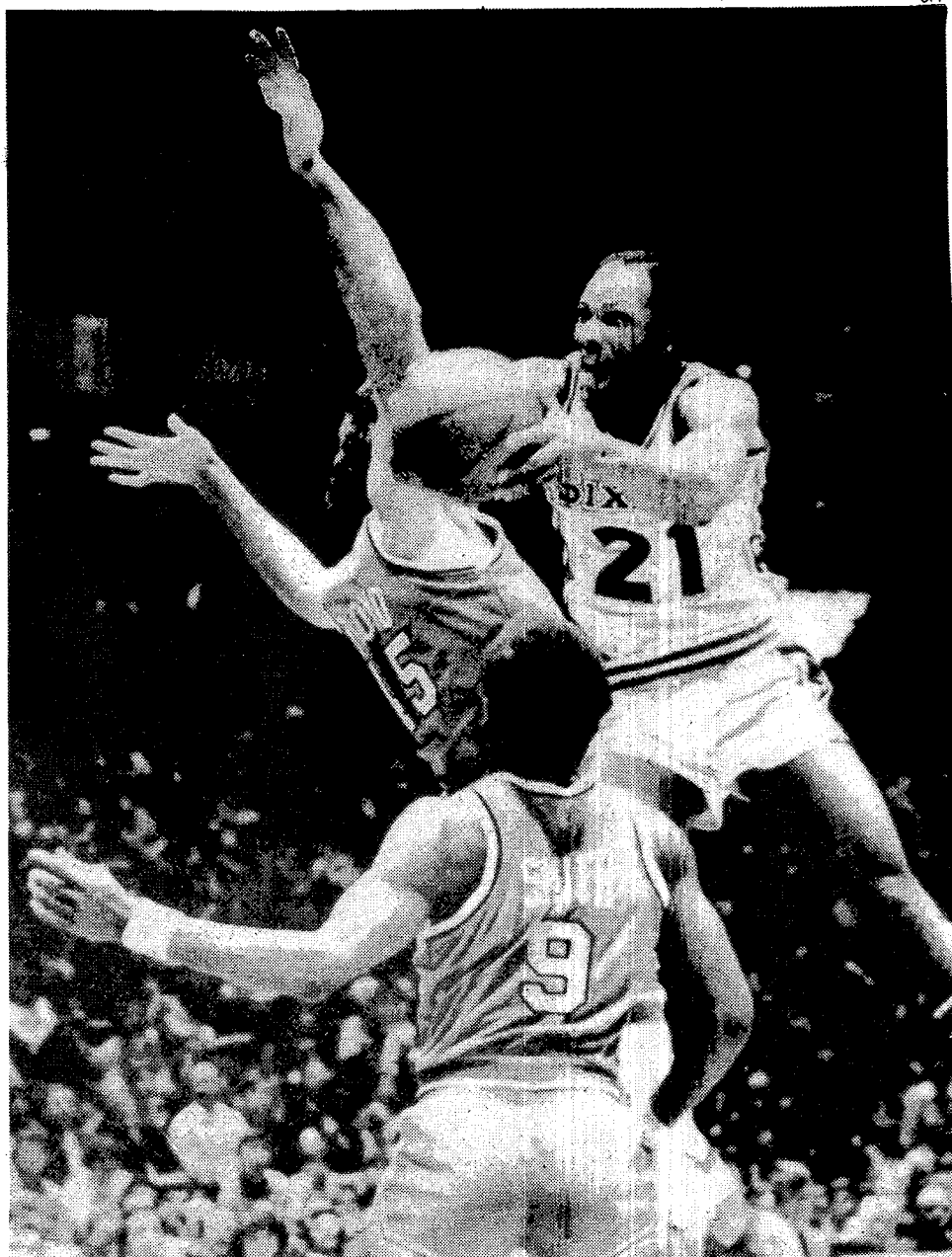
Western Division:

The West is harder to call. Portland would be the obvious favorite if they were healthy, but with injuries to Bill Walton, Lloyd Neal, Larry Steele and Bob Gross (possibly for the season), they are a shadow of the team that won the championship last year. If Walton and Neal (who has been one of the best forwards in the league this year) return in good shape, the Blazers can win the Division, but if not, almost every other team in the Western playoffs has a good chance at beating them.

Los Angeles, on paper, looks to be the strongest of the other teams. With Kareem Jabbar at center, Adrian Dantley at forward, and a backcourt strengthened by the addition of Lou Hudson, Charlie Scott and rookie Norm Nixon, the Lakers have looked like a powerhouse during the latter half of the season.

But in the first round of the playoffs LA has to get by a surprising Seattle team in a two-out-of-three series without a home court advantage and they could easily get knocked out there. Seattle matches up well with L.A. because it has an excellent defensive center in Marvin Webster, a powerful rebounding forward in Jack Sikma, and three superquick high-scoring guards led by Gus Williams and Fred Brown. I don't think they can win the Division, but they could be a spoiler.

Phoenix and Denver, who will probably meet in the second round, each has a shot at winning the Division if Portland is not at full strength. Phoenix is a small, quick team, which features fine shooting, passing and aggressive team defense (they lead the league in steals). They have a good bench and the league's best rookie in Walter Davis. But they lack rebounding strength and an intimidating defensive center and this could cost them in a four-out-of-seven series.



The Philadelphia '76ers' second team, which includes players like Lloyd Free (above), could beat many NBA first teams.

Denver, a similar team in many respects, is a showcase for the talents of David Thompson, possibly the very best player in the NBA this year. Thompson has the quickness, moves and leaping ability of Dr. J, but adds to this the best stop-on-a-dime jump shot since Jerry West. Despite Denver's other weaknesses (a mediocre backcourt, and a center who can score but is weak defensively), the Nuggets are a threat to win any game because of Thompson's unique abilities. They are the only team to beat Portland at home this year when the Trailblazer squad was at full strength, and their bench is much stronger than it was last season.

Where does all this lead? I pick Portland to win the Division if they are healthy. If key Portland players are injured, I pick L.A. to win it, provided they get by their tough first round match with Seattle. If not, I pick Denver! How's that

for clarity?

The Finals:

This is the 'Sixers' year. I know I said this last season (and ended up poorer for it), but I feel confident, almost smug about my prediction. The 'Sixers are a much stronger, more balanced team than they were last season and their opposition is weaker. Portland is the only team who has given them much trouble and the Trailblazers will have a difficult time getting out of their Division unless there are some miraculous recoveries on their injury-riddled squad. Even if they win the West, they will have to meet the 'Sixers without Bob Gross, who was one of the keys to the Portland victory last year. The Blazers are a great ball club, but they need everyone at full strength to meet a revitalized Philadelphia team, and Dr. J and Co. should win the first of what may be a long string of NBA championships. ■

Winter baseball

Continued from page 24.

ishment. He will take a bath this season.)

While Vida Blue was an unwilling victim of pure baseball, some players revel in it, particularly in the winter, when they are allowed to be unrestrainedly egotistical, not bound at all to a team concept. A form of social Darwinism prevails. With no real games in the winter the elements of the cold hustle are more evident. Individualism is held in check only by the ability of a player's agent.

Winter baseball follows a clear progression of events, which begin a month after the World Series. The end of the regular season starts the interior season of baseball with rituals and a rhythm of its own. In November the free agent draft takes place. In December the owners meeting heralds a flurry of trades. And until the commencement of spring training at the end of February the Florida and Caribbean leagues go through mock seasons concluding with the Caribbean World Series.

In these leagues the players know that only their own performances, not that of their teams, are what matter. But, even then, sterling play in the Caribbean often has little value. The most valuable player this year in the Venezuelan league, for example, was Bo Diaz, also of the Boston Red Sox. But stardom in the Venezuelan

league wasn't enough to keep Diaz from being traded as part of a four-player package through which the Red Sox received Cleveland Indian pitching ace Dennis Eckersley. (The Red Sox feel that the Eckersley trade is the trade for the Penant.)

Baseball is the top sport of Caribbean countries. The season there occurs only in the winter. Baseball in the Latin countries is not all one-sided. It may be the only industry in Latin American in which Americans constitute the bulk of the employees. But many Latin players also

prominently appear in these leagues. Scouts for big league teams watch these games closely. They are exploratory engineers seeking the wealth that will benefit the home company. The Caribbean is baseball's new frontier.

(The importance of Latin baseball to Latinos might be indicated by the fact that the only election held while Rafael Trujillo was dictator of the Dominican Republic reportedly hinged on the outcome of a baseball game. Trujillo's opponent fielded the best Dominican team available, prompting El Presidente to pay astronomical sums to stars of the Negro Major

Leagues to play on his side. He won.)

The big sleep of baseball in the winter is over. But baseball remains more than business. And in the end, Reggie Jackson is more than a candy bar promoter. Without his three home runs off three pitches in the final game of the 1977 World Series the Reggie! bar wouldn't have as much cachet. Winter baseball depends on the summer game. Business can't detract from the grace of what happens on the diamond. It can only profit by it. ■

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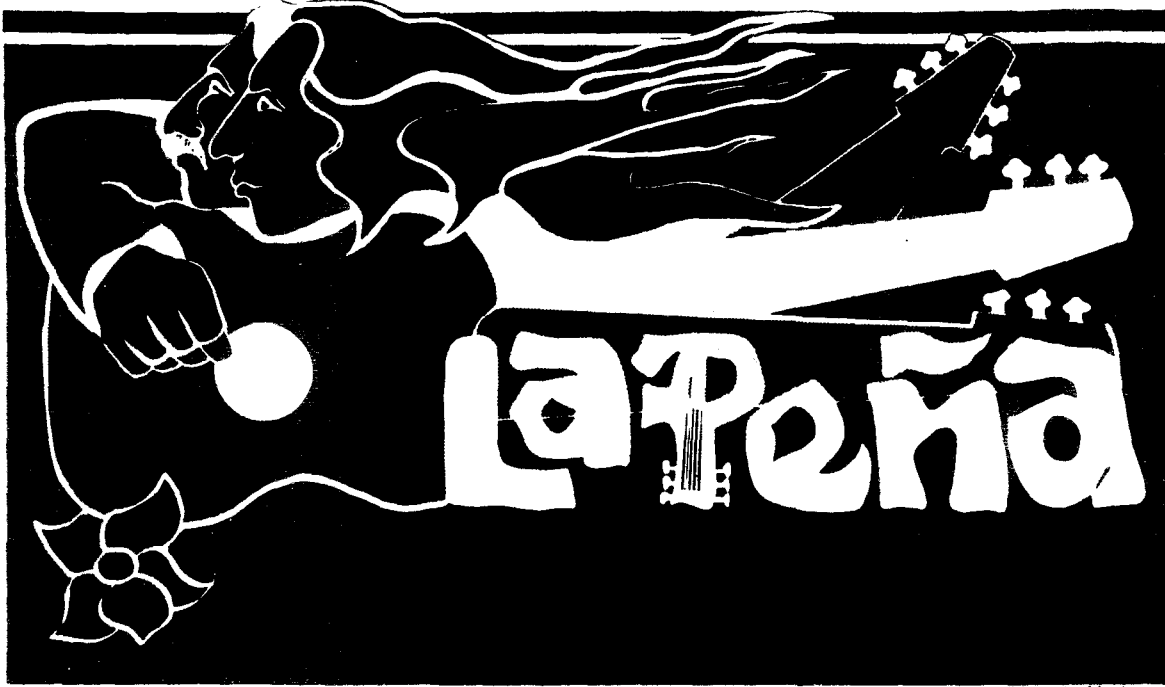
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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT



Graphic from La Peña's calendar of current attractions.

Graphic/Malagras Montoya

Cultural center faces eviction

On Thursday night of a typical week, the stage of La Peña Cultural Center in Berkeley may be filled by the famous San Francisco Mime Troupe. The following night the Berkeley Citizens Action may be having a fundraiser with Congressman Ron Dellums. On Saturday, the hottest salsa bands in town may be playing a benefit for the group called Non-Intervention in Chile (NICH).

Few communities have a resource as valuable as this combination of a small tavern, a restaurant that serves excellent Latin American food and a medium-sized hall, useable for every sort of cultural function from dances to political debates. In the three years of its existence, La Peña has become a center for Latin culture and progressive politics in Berkeley and Oakland.

One group to which La Peña has been especially valuable is NICH (cf above). While there are no formal ties between the two organizations, they share common roots in the Chilean government of Salvador Allende and the struggle that followed its overthrow in 1973.

Bob High, staffperson at the national office on NICH, considers La Peña a priceless resource for Latin Americans and those interested in Latin-American struggles. "In addition to providing a place for fundraising and cultural activities for

Few communities have such a place.

NICH," he says, "La Peña has fulfilled a complementary role as a place for Latin Americans to come together and share their culture. It's been a godsend."

In the three years since La Peña opened its doors (on the second anniversary of the coup that plunged Chile into fascism), it has helped all kinds of local groups raise badly needed dollars.

This month La Peña is running benefits for itself.

The collective that manages the enterprise recently learned that the landlord will be selling the building La Peña occupies. So La Peña must raise \$25,000 as a down payment on the purchase of the building or face losing its home.

Collective members feel that the longer it takes to raise the down payment, the greater the chances that another buyer may be found. Their appeal states it bluntly: "We feel certain that if we don't raise the money now, we will be forced out."

The drive so far has consisted of direct appeals for donations, a raffle featuring prizes donated by community merchants, and benefit performances of music, dance, drama, film and political presentations. The breadth of the

political and cultural community served by La Peña is manifest in the diversity of the programs. There has been a concert by the Grupo Moncado, from Cuba; a performance of the San Francisco Mime Troupe's *Hotel Universe* (about the struggle to keep the International Hotel open); and *Moonlighting*, by the feminist theater, Lilith.

Still to come are concerts by steel drummers from the West Indies; classical and flamenco guitarists; a local jazz/blues group, an evening of "new" country folk music, and the popular "Salsa Alacran." There will also be performances of *Sizwe Banze Is Dead* (about apartheid in South Africa), "An Evening with Woody Guthrie," "El Teatro Coco Santo" (Afro-Cuban songs and dances), a film showing of a Bolivian documentary and a celebration of the third anniversary of "Victory in Vietnam," presented by the Association of Vietnamese Patriots.

People in the Bay Area interested in contributing to the fund to save La Peña, or in attending those programs still to be presented may obtain information from La Peña at 3105 Shattuck Ave., in Berkeley, or by calling 849-2568. Or by checking with La Peña's current calendar.

—Tim Reagan
Tim Reagan is an editor of the East Bay Voice, where a version of this article appeared.

RECORDS

Farmworkers issue an album

HUELGA EN GENERAL
El Teatro Campesino, Menyah

El Teatro Campesino was born on the first picket lines thrown up by Cesar Chavez's fellow farm workers 13 years ago. Its creator and guiding spirit, Luis Valdez, has been taking his troupe to the farm workers and the public ever since.

Huelga en General! (General Strike), first recorded in Teatro's home-made studio, is a nicely engineered presentation of 13 of the songs that saw the *chavistas* through a series of advances and setbacks to the relatively secure conditions of today. It is an assortment of Mexico polkas and *corridos* (ballads) that convey the history and the spirit of un-

Latin and Anglo picketline classics sung in Spanish by members of El Teatro Campesino.

ity of the UFW as well as some Anglo movement classics. They lyrics range from poignant laments over squalid conditions to gayly thrust barbs directed at the Teamsters. Like music of struggle from other fronts, the message comes through even if one doesn't understand the language.

The music is of the traditional Mexican folk variety. Instrumen-

tation is simple, with gentle acoustic guitar backgrounding the slower pieces and staccato trumpets and distinct bass lines characterizing the polkas.

Though the UFW is beginning to organize among black and Puerto Rican farm workers in the east, its roots are with the Mexican-Americans of the rural Southwest. *Huelga en General* is a vivid reaffirmation of those roots.

—Bob Datz
Copies of Huelga en General! are sold through United Farm workers of America, AFL-CIO, offices and support groups around the country, or they can be ordered through Menyah Records, El Centro Campesino Cultural, Box 1278, San Juan Bautista, CA 95045.

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BOOKS

Opposing testimony in the case that never seems to die

BOSTON, A Documentary Novel

By Upton Sinclair
Robert Bentley, Inc., Cambridge,
1978, \$15

Last December an envelope labeled "Sacco-Vanzetti," found in the papers of A. Lawrence Lowell, a president of Harvard University, was opened for the first time. Lowell had served as head of a special commission to advise the governor of Massachusetts whether to pardon the two Italian anarchists convicted of killing two shoe factory payroll guards. Lowell advised the governor to pull the switch on the electric chair.

His papers from the commission had been sealed for 50 years. When they were revealed at last, there was no startling information. The papers did imply that the commission had reached its conclusion of Sacco and Vanzetti's guilt before it finished hearing all the witnesses, and indicated that Lowell never read the complete transcript of the courtroom trial, which was a perfect example of judicial mendacity.

The trial itself was proclaimed in 1977 by Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis to have been unfair. Better late than never.

All of the tumultuous feelings of the time of the Sacco-Vanzetti trial are captured in Upton Sinclair's *Boston*, which has been out of print for decades. It is a classic of radical American literature and deserves to be rediscovered by a fresh audience.

Sinclair's book was an early docu-novel, superior in all respects to the docu-dramas appearing now on television. With the exception of some fictional characters, who are primarily vehicles for penetrating certain actual scenes, *Boston* is a factual representation of the famous case. Although there have been many books written about the Sacco-Vanzetti affair none is as

compelling as Sinclair's version. His gift for storytelling, simple language and popular characterizations make it the most accessible account. And despite the intervening years since it was first published, the basic outline of the case as presented by those who believe Sacco and Vanzetti to have been innocent has not been altered.

The book is more than a recitation of the wrongs committed against two radicals. Sinclair used the case as a vehicle to depict class society. Proper Bostonians were never so properly displayed.

The new edition of *Boston* is elegantly produced and includes photographs and the text of Gov. Dukakis' proclamation. The reissue of the book is a public service.

—Sidney Blumenthal
Robert Bentley, Inc., is at 872
Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge
02139.

Sidney Blumenthal is the Boston
correspondent for IN THESE TIMES.

THE NEVER ENDING WRONG

By Katherine Anne Porter
Little, Brown, Boston, 1977

As one who participated in the effort to block the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, I read Katherine Anne Porter's account of the experience (*The Never Ending Wrong*) with interest and dismay.

Since I am pictured carrying a placard with Porter and Paxton Hibben (in the condensation of her book that appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*), I assume that Porter and I worked in the same defense organization.

That experience was a turning point in my life. I had given small sums to worthy causes, including the Sacco-Vanzetti defense fund. But those last desperate weeks in Boston were the first social action in which I had ever participated. Although I did not take notes, they are as vivid in my memory



Bartolomeo Vanzetti, Nicola Sacco and supporter

as if it had all happened yesterday.

Porter describes an atmosphere of "monastic discipline" and people—some evil, others foolish—"stiff with cold, mindless compliance, irrational compliance with orders from 'higher up'."

My own impression was that the cold compliance with orders from above, as well as the deceit and intrigue, were sins of the social, legal and political institutions that were determined "to get those anarchist bastards." How strange to find them projected onto the defenders of Sacco and Vanzetti.

Also, my memory of the atmosphere in the headquarters of the defense organization is very different from Porter's. I remember the parade of people she describes, the typing of news releases and, on the last day, the typing of Sacco's letter to his son. I remember the anger, the helplessness, the confusions. But no air of monastic discipline, and no cold, mindless compliance with orders.

On the contrary, I remember a great supportive warmth within the group. And we—or at least, I—needed support, for we were learning some agonizing lessons: that honorable men could behave dishonorably; that laws could be twisted to make a mockery of justice; that our institutions did not protect those they were designed to protect if they were poor and did not speak good English.

Time after time during the last months it seemed to us that the

case against the two men would either be dropped, or a new trial ordered because of new evidence, as for instance when careful investigation by defense attorneys corroborated the confession of someone else to the murders with which Sacco and Vanzetti were charged. Slowly it became evident that nothing would change the attitude of the judge before whom all the appeals had to be argued. But even then, most people close to the defense did not believe it would ever come to the death sentence. We reminded each other of Tom Mooney, whose sentence had been commuted to life. Something like that would surely happen here.

Then the Lowell Committee announced its report, and it became apparent that the president of Harvard was as implacably biased as Judge Thayer and Gov. Fuller. If these people acted in good faith (and it was sometimes hard to believe), then they were blinded by their class position. There was general surprise and anger among us, but it was only when the death sentence was pronounced that the movement was catapulted into a sense of life-and-death crisis.

It was too late. Up to that moment there had been no serious attempt to achieve a unified approach among the various groups working to block the execution, and none of them was prepared to carry on the kind of struggle that was called for.

During those last days people were arriving by bus from far away places—ordinary people as

well as important and famous ones, and real, live IWWs. There were larger and larger picket lines, more and wilder suggestions for action, including the quaint notion that the crowd should march on Charlestown prison and take it down, stone by stone, like the Bastille.

After the agony of the last night (which Porter describes vividly), there was time to add up the lessons: first, that the class nature of our society was determinative; second, and this was even more painful, that we had failed in our objective—the organizations, groups and individuals, thousands, perhaps millions of people!—through lack of unity. All that good will, strength, energy, passion wasted on duplication of effort and petty conflicts; wasted because we didn't start soon enough to form a single, mighty force!

There was terrible shame, grief, recrimination among the various parties to the tragedy. Katherine Anne Porter believes that the overall effect was such disillusionment that "Never again would so many intellectuals answer the call for a humanitarian cause."

I see it rather as the prelude to the involvement of mass of people—including intellectuals and artists—in such humanitarian causes as Spain, anti-Nazism, civil rights, Vietnam and peace.

—Elizabeth Faragoh

Elizabeth Faragoh is a retired librarian who lives in Berkeley, California.

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CHICAGO AREA READERS—Hear Anselmo Sule, vice president of the Socialist International, President of Chilean Radical Party in exile, member of the Senate and key figure in the Allende government, speak on his experiences, including year spent in the infamous Dawson Prison. Wednesday, April 19, 8 p.m., St. Paul's Church, 655 W. Fullerton, no admission charge. For further information, call 262-5331. Sponsored by Chicago Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

INSIDE THE I.R.A.—Interviews with Cathal Goulding, chief-of-staff of the Irish Republican Army. Banned in Ireland, but available here. Send \$1.00 plus 25¢ postage to RECON, 702 Stanley St., Ypsilanti, MI 48197.

WESTERN N.Y./SOUTHERN ONTARIO—There will be a regional May Day March/Rally Sat., April 29. For more information or to help plan contact May Day Coalition, c/o Great Clearing Bookstore, 144 Webster Ave., Rochester, NY 14609.

EMMA'S HEALTH CENTER, 1628A W. Belmont, Chicago, is now offering services in self-help clinics, pregnancy testing, abortion and birth control counseling and more by feminist paramedics on Monday evenings 7-10 and Saturday mornings 10:30-12:30. Call 528-4310 or 493-5364.

KANSAS CITY AREA READERS—April 25 Chautauqua entitled "Sunshine Forever, Nukes Never!" 7:30 p.m. at the Fookiller, 39th and Main, KCMO. Bring the kids, free child care provided. \$1 donation requested. WATCH THIS SPACE.

COUNSELORS WANTED for progressive Jewish children's camp with unique cultural program. Contact: Camp Kinderland, One Union Square West, New York, NY 10003, (212) 255-6283.

WOMEN AND THEIR BODIES CLASS—Three sessions: April 17, Physiology; April 24, Sexuality; May 1, Self-Help. Emma Goldman Women's Center, 1628A West Belmont, Chicago. Donation requested. Call 493-5364 to register.

DI YUGNT SHTIMME—The voice of the Jewish Socialist Youth Bund —#7—Winter 1978—In this issue: French Jews and the French Left; Women of the Bund; The Future of Secular Jewishness; and more! Subscriptions \$2. 25 East 78 St., NY, NY 10021.

CAPITAL DISTRICT READERS—ITT editor Jim Weinstein will speak at Union College, Thurs., April 26. There will be a fundraiser at 1116 Merlin Drive, Niskayuna, 7:30 p.m., Wed., April 25. Wine and cheese. Minimum donation—\$5.00.

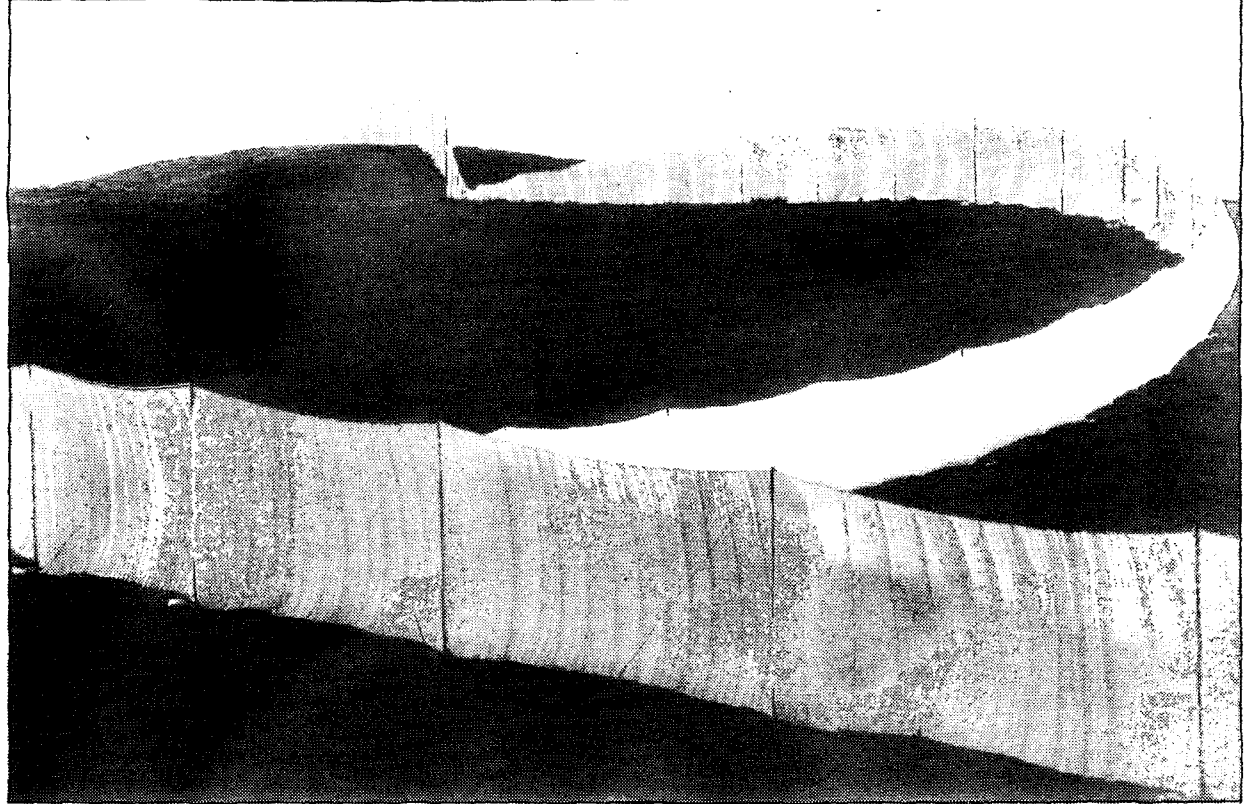
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ART

With completion of the work opposition melted. A rancher to whom his fields had been only a place for cows to graze told a neighbor, "I'd like to sleep right by the fence. It's beautiful. Something you'd hardly believe."

Wolfgang Volz



Maysles film preserves Running Fence

RUNNING FENCE

By David Maysles, Charlotte Zwerin and Albert Maysles

Christo, the Bulgarian-born, New York-based artist whose work has included wrapping office buildings in fabric, hanging a curtain across a valley in Colorado and covering part of the Australian coastline in plastic, is the type of artist who invites diatribes from people used to thinking of art as a skillfully executed representation of the human figure. ("My kid can do better than that! What kind of art is that? I bet he can't even paint..." etc.)

In August 1976 Christo went to Marin and Sonoma Counties in California to build a 24-mile long, 18-foot-high cloth fence.

First he had to find the ideal site. Then he had to get permis-

sion from skeptical, if not hostile farmers and townspeople to cross their land. Finally there was the herculean task of putting up the fence: cost, \$3 million.

On hand to record Christo's struggle and eventual triumph were the Maysles, documentary filmmakers whose credits include *Gimme Shelter* (about the riot at the Rolling Stones' concert at Altamont) and *Grey Gardens* (an intimate portrait of two aging and indigent cousins of Jacqueline Bouvier Onassis).

Running Fence, their latest production, is a fast-paced, chronological account of Christo's work and the people who made it possible. The Maysles have an eye for detail. Their cameras move about silently, unobtrusively, recording events, capturing the flavor of the land or, in a casual ges-

ture, the essence of a character. Their film shows us a segment of the "silent majority," grappling with, finally accepting and uniting behind a uniquely foreign element: modern art.

At first no one wanted to let Christo build his fence. Townspeople opposed it for a variety of reasons, not the least of which was their fear that it would destroy "green belts" around their towns. Christo is at his best defending his work and supervising its construction. At one hearing he states that it will produce "an incredible ribbon of light" across the land.

Local artists are among the most vocal of those opposed. At one of the 18 public hearings held around the issue, an artist testifies: "It's not art. A curtain ten feet long and 18 feet high is not

art. And it's not art if it's 24 miles long!"

Farmers, on the other hand, came to respect Christo for his determination and to relate to him as a fellow underdog whose work is unappreciated. They resent the presumption of townspeople telling them what they can do on their own property.

"This isn't my land anymore," one angry rancher tells Christo after a negative vote at a hearing. "I can't do what I want!"

With completion of the work, opposition melts. A rancher to whom his fields had been only a place for cows to graze tells a neighbor he'd like to "sleep right here by the fence. It's beautiful. Something you'd hardly believe."

Connie, a local waitress, describes it to some customers: "It's not pretty in the sense of pretty.

But it's different, and it looks kind of nifty. It's nature pretty."

Running Fence was, in fact, stunning. There is silence in the film as the finished work is shown from different angles and at different times of day.

As Christo promised, the fence was taken down 14 days after its completion and the materials given to farmers on whose land it had stood. A farmer's wife comments: "I go to a lot of work to prepare a meal I think is art. A masterpiece. And what happens? It gets eaten up and disappears."

Today no visible evidence of Christo's masterpiece remains on the hills of Sonoma and Marin Counties. But for a few moments *Running Fence* lets us in on what it was like.

—Josh Martin
Josh Martin is a journalist based in New York.

Books

THE PURSUIT OF DIGNITY, New Living Alternatives for the Elderly

Bert Kruger Smith
Beacon Press, 1977, \$9.95 in
hard cover

By the author of *Aging in America*, this is an examination of the possibilities for meeting the needs of more than two million Americans who are either presently in nursing homes or facing that prospect. There is nothing particularly new about the suggestions, but they are couched in terms that communicate to both groups that must make the relevant decisions—the aging and those who are responsible for their care.

PEOPLE OF THE ABYSS

By Jack London, with an introduction by Jack Lindsay
Lawrence Hill & Co., Westport, Ct., 1977, \$3.95

This is a reprint of an almost forgotten work—a series of reports by Jack London on conditions in the London slums in 1903, illustrated with photographs that he may have taken himself. An informative preface by the British Marxist critic, Jack Lindsay, calls it "one of the two works in which he most fully uttered his socialist faith." London himself said of it, "No other book of mine took so much of my young heart and tears as that study of the economic degradation of the poor." —J.S.

FILM

Hoffman goes straight but film wanders

STRAIGHT TIME

Screenplay by Alvin Sargent,
Jeffrey Boam and Edward
Bunker

Directed by Ulu Grosbard
Warner Brothers, Rated R

During the first half hour of *Straight Time* you may get the feeling you're seeing yet another of those good guy (thief) versus bad guy (cop) movies.

Dustin Hoffman, with slicked-back hair and sad moustache, is Max, a fresh parolee trying his best to go straight. At every turn he is misunderstood and antagonized by his parole officer, a singularly ugly, self-important, sneering piece of humanity.

Within a week of being sprung Max achieves his own digs, a job and the affections of a scrubbed-faced young lady, only to be dragged back to the slammer on false premises. There can't be a disapproving soul in the house when, in a rage, Max cuffs his probation officer to a highway fence and leaves him to be caught—literally—with his pants down.

But things are not as clear-cut as they seem. *Straight Time* primes the audience for the acceptance of a sympathetic cliché, then proceeds systematically to destroy it, scene by scene.

Max not only becomes progressively less likeable and more ruthless (and therefore, perhaps, more realistic), but the film takes

swings in odd directions, sometimes striking out, other times connecting solidly.

At one point, the outlaw Max witnesses some presumably desirable domestic bliss, only to be collared by the frenzied husband as soon as the wife is out of earshot. "I'm goin' crazy—get me outta here!" he begs, finding the fugitive life, however gritty, preferable to endless burgers on the patio.

Max and his friend pull off a couple of standard cinematic bank and jewelry capers. But in *Straight Time*, being on the lam isn't garnished with the glamor of a *Bonnie & Clyde* and *Thieves Like Us*, or balanced by the cheap bravura that livens up common crook flicks. Max's life is not romantic. It is ugly, nervous and, like the hazy desert road stretching out before him on his final get-away, leads to a dead end.

Where the script falls apart is in its dogged adherence to certain Hollywood conventions, chief among them the inclusion of a Love Interest. The pairing of a greasy, middle-aged ex-con with a clean-cut California girl barely out of her teens is ludicrous, grating like a fingernail on the blackboard of the mind.

Moreover, this coupling is accomplished via the crudest method of "movie shorthand." Jenny (Theresa Russell) pursues Max to the pen after one meeting in an



Dustin Hoffman, as Max, a parolee in *STRAIGHT TIME*, the film made from ex-convict Edward Bunker's novel about prison life, *no beast so fierce*.

employment agency and a single date. Before you know it, they are sharing the sheets in her well-appointed apartment (show me a rookie personnel clerk who makes that kind of dough!), and she is pledging her loyalty for as long as she can "handle it."

Unfortunately for the film, she handles it too long.

These scenes mar Hoffman's effort to portray a flesh-and-blood character. (The film is based on the novel *No Beast So*

Fierce by Edward Bunker, a real ex-con.) Alone, or in the sequences with his prison buddies (admirably portrayed by Gary Busey and Harry Dean Stanton), Max's characterization rings impressively true.

But old romantic conventions die hard and, sadly, in the case of *Straight Time*, drag an otherwise intriguing film with them.

—P. Hertel
P. Hertel is a free-lance writer in Chicago



Illustration/Tom Greensfelder

Throwing out the first contract of the season

Rites of Winter

When the baseball season ends and the dealing begins, it's every man for himself.

By Sidney Blumenthal

In order to understand baseball one must understand the rites of winter. In the days when Ford Frick presided as commissioner the game was almost frozen over after the last out was made in the World Series. Blockbuster trades, although common, were essentially interruptions in the serene passage of winter. Today baseball is a year-round proposition. The fans may drift off to basketball games but baseball still proceeds at an intense pace.

Over 100 players changed teams during the past winter, altering the complexion of many clubs and perhaps the balance of power. The free agent draft established itself as a vital marketplace; owners shun it at their risk.

The most avid free agent marketeers were the Sunbelt baseball titans. Brad Corbett, owner of the Texas Rangers, who wears blue jeans and cowboy shirts around his ball park, and Gene Autry, owner of the California Angels, renowned as a singing cowboy, laid out huge sums for top-notch players like Lyman Bostock, Richie Zisk and Jon Matlack. Whether the Sunbelt tycoons' heavy reliance on the free agent market pays off during the season remains uncertain.

Inflation affects the national pastime as well as the price of bread, or more precisely, the price of circuses. Some owners speculated that the free agent market was a one-shot affair, involving only the cream of baseball talent. This year's

draft proved, however, that the owners are willing to bid on less than super-star luminaries. The salaries of players generally rise as a result, although as Marvin Miller, the players' union representative, has pointed out, wages are actually declining as a share of the overall profit picture. And if Miller comprehends the concept of surplus value on a theoretical plane, the players appear to understand it less abstractly. Like all hired hands they want what they can get from the bosses. Baseball is not a special province isolated from the effects of the cash nexus simply because it is an entertaining game.

Baseball in the winter is a peculiar variation of the summer game. Many baseball writers have sought the essence of the game in the swing of the bat, the tempo of play or the whip of a pitcher's motion. They wish to separate baseball from outside corrupting forces. But baseball can't be understood apart from its context. That's why the New York Yankees are champions of the complete game. In spite of acrimony in the dugout, they manage to win. Fierce personal hatreds, jealousy, greed and narcissism mark the Yankees as the total team of the '70s.

Removing baseball from its summer stadiums allows it to be seen unobstructed, observed from the vantage point of owners and players. In a sense, the summer merely acknowledges what has transpired in the winter, dramatizing the results of hard winter transactions. During the summertime fans can see baseball as

a game, which permits them to make much more out of it, but winter takes the game away from the game; only business is left.

The sole umpire is the weak, inconsistent commissioner, Bowie Kuhn, a corporate lawyer turned czar of sportsmen for a large retainer. His major function appears to be intervening in trades or sales involving Vida Blue, the star Oakland A's pitcher, whose transfer from Charley Finley's depleted carnival has twice been vetoed and once approved.

Blue was such a valuable commodity that Kuhn was afraid that the team that secured his services would have more of an edge on its opponents. (Of course that is the rationale behind most deals, although reportedly not Finley's motive—he wants to dismantle his team.) So Blue was forced to keep pitching for the A's, bitterly disillusioned. He was playing a pure form of baseball, since his play had no meaning other than to maintain his market value.

When Blue was finally permitted to be traded he served as sort of token payment in a complicated financial deal in which the Oakland team would be sold to a Denver oilman and the San Francisco Bay area would be left exclusively to the waning Giants. Kuhn allowed the trade because the Giants were weak; it made no difference. (Finley then mucked up the arrangement to move the A's to Denver. Other baseball owners decided to let Finley keep the A's in Oakland as pun-

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